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The Old English Rogationtide Corpus: A Literary History

Gordon Sellers
Loyola University Chicago

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE OLD ENGLISH ROGATIONTIDE CORPUS: A LITERARY HISTORY

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GORDON B. SELLERS

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PREFACE

During a seminar at the Newberry Library, I was struck by the similarities in the introduction of Homily 12 of the tenth-century Old English Vercelli Book between the Christian observances of Rogationtide, a time of supplication for the protection of crops, and the pagan practices that the homilist warned his listeners against.[1] It seemed that the difference between worshipping holy relics and reverencing the sacrifice of Christ, and bowing down to wooden images and making sacrifices was only a matter of cultural perspective. As I became more interested in the idea of the transformation or, as I will call it, the translation of cultural beliefs, I discovered that, with the notable exception of Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross' edition, very little has been written recently about the Old English Rogationtide corpus.[2] In this dissertation, I

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[1] The lines to which I refer are 1-18. The most recent edition of this homily is in The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts, ed. D.G. Scragg, E.E.T.S. o.s. 300, (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), 228-36.

[2] Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies, eds. Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

review and analyze the vernacular corpus, the writings of which span the tenth through the early twelfth centuries. I describe the transformation of the Christian occasion of Rogationtide from a pagan-Roman rite into one of the most important liturgical observances in Anglo-Saxon England (c. 400-1066).

My dissertation consists of six chapters, which I describe as follows:

Chapter 1, "The Foundation of Rogationtide," examines the history and Christian adaptation of the pagan festival of Robigalia. I examine how the Church refashioned two non-Christian cultural practices into the occasion of Rogationtide by conflating parts of the pagan-Roman Robigalian festival with those of an Old Testament Jewish prayer call and response, which the Christians later renamed the "litany." I also discuss Anglo-Saxon England's position as a focal point in this process of adaptation and transmission.

Chapter 2, "The Latin Rogationtide Tradition," investigates the introduction of the Latin tradition of this liturgical occasion into Anglo-Saxon England. I analyze the Latin texts dating from the late fifth to the middle ninth centuries that influenced the Anglo-Saxon Rogationtide homilists. This tradition, transmitted to England through lectionaries and homiliaries, consists of homilies

containing exegeses of New Testament lessons, of sermons based on Old Testament passages,[3] and of accounts of the founding of this occasion. The Church prescribed all of these lessons for Rogationtide because of their association with asking God for protection.[4] Translations and transcriptions of these Latin texts appear throughout the Old English Rogationtide corpus, indicating the extent of the Latin influence on the vernacular homilists.

Chapter 3, "The Old English Rogationtide Tradition," probes the ways in which the Anglo-Saxon homilists adapted their Latin sources to create a distinctive Old English corpus. Determining what kinds of sources the Anglo-Saxon homilists used and how they translated them, I divide the vernacular corpus into three chronological groups: (1) the homilies from the Vercelli Book, dating from the tenth century; (2) the homilies of Ælfric, from the late tenth century; and (3) the homilies from five anonymous manuscripts, from the eleventh to the early twelfth

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[3] I follow Gatch's distinction between homilies and sermons: a homily is "an exegetical address on a passage of Scripture" while a sermon is "a general address on a religious theme." Milton McC. Gatch, "The Achievement of Ælfric and His Colleagues in European Perspective," The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds, eds. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978), 43-73, 45.

[4] The word "rogation" comes from the Latin verb rogare, meaning "to ask." See, A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, 1967 ed., s.v. "rogation."

centuries. This categorization provides a basis for my examination of this corpus from two perspectives: translational, from which I can see how the homilists adapted their Latin sources; and diachronic, from which I can see how these homilies developed over time, creating a distinctive vernacular Rogationtide corpus.

Chapter 4, "The Story of Mamertus: Narrative Style in the Old English Rogationtide Corpus," studies the historical account of the founding of Rogationtide by Mamertus, the fifth-century bishop of Vienne, contained in this vernacular corpus. I analyze its Latin and vernacular renderings from the fifth to the eleventh centuries in terms of its narrative style, discovering an evolving vernacular "narrative consciousness" tied closely to this developing corpus.[5] I note the increasing emphasis on incorporeal disasters and the movement away from the corporeal concerns of earthquakes and fires, as portrayed in the earlier Latin texts. This change also occurs in the corpus as a whole, as the depiction of the Rogationtide motive, the fear that impels the people to ask for God's protection, shifts from localized concerns, such as crop mildew and Viking invasions, to the more universal concerns of death and

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[5] This idea of a "narrative consciousness" comes from Paul E. Szarmach, "Three Versions of the Jonah Story: An Investigation of Narrative Technique in Old English Homilies," Anglo-Saxon England 1(1972): 183-92.

Doomsday. The effect, I conclude, is an emotionally-charged group of texts that are capable of holding an audience's attention.

Chapter 5, "Rogationtide Metaphoric Language: Translating the Past in Terms of the Present," analyzes the language of the vernacular Rogationtide homilies, specifically focusing on that used in the distinctive metaphor of the spiritual lamps. I argue that the Anglo-Saxon homilists looked to the past for their sources, but they translated them in the context of contemporary concerns.[6] Comparing the Latin sources of the metaphor of the lamps (the Scriptures and a sermon by Caesarius of Arles) with three of the Old English Rogationtide homilies, I discover ways in which the homilists interpretively translated their sources in order to emphasize the contemporary Church's teaching role and the catechetical observances, themes, and ideas that it teaches.

Chapter 6, "Epilogue: Transforming the Rogationtide Corpus," summarizes my findings concerning the translational, motivational, and didactic changes in the Old English Rogationtide corpus. I argue that the occasional

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[6] This idea comes from Clare A. Lees, "Working with Patristic Sources: Language and Context in Old English Homilies," Speaking Two Languages: Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies, ed. Allen J. Frantzen, SUNY Series in Medieval Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 157-80, 168-75.

context of Rogationtide, the three days before Ascension, with its emphasis on contemplating death and the afterlife, functioned as an effective framework for the homilists. They stylistically shaped their homilies by conflating the emotional impact of Doomsday with the didactic (albeit, generic) teachings of contemporary catechesis. The result is a corpus of vernacular homilies that not only heightens and holds the audience's attention but also teaches them catechetical lessons. For this reason, I conclude, the Church saw Rogationtide as an an ideal time and medium in which to assist the spiritual growth and development of its listeners.

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CHAPTER 1

THE FOUNDATION OF ROGATIONTIDE

If a single word could be chosen to explain the success of the Christian Church from its earliest inception to the present, it would be adaptation. The Church, throughout its history, has been able to attune itself to new cultural environments by adapting them as needed.[1] We can see examples of this cultural adaptation in the Church's response to the pagan cultures that its early missionaries encountered. Although these missionaries vehemently condemned certain pagan practices, such as worshipping idols, Christian and pagan cultures were not so completely antagonistic that compromises were not possible. Josef A. Jungman explains that the Christian Church did not want to destroy pagan civic, social, and artistic cultural customs but rather to refashion them "to the honor and glory of God" and to assimilate them into the life and worship of the Christian Church.[2]

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[1] Joseph H. Lynch, The Medieval Church: A Brief History (NY: Longman Publishing, 1992), 19.

[2] Josef A. Jungman, The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 133-34, 142.

Bede's description in his Ecclesiastical History of the English People[3] of Pope Gregory the Great's missionary paradigm furnishes an idealized example of this practice of cultural adaptation. Gregory sent a letter to Abbot Mellitus, who was travelling to Anglo-Saxon England in 601 to help Augustine in his missionary work, instructing him not to destroy the pagan temples he found but only the idols that were in them (1.30:106-09). He was to purify those temples for the service of God, Gregory said, so that

> "ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non uidet destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum uerum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quae consueuit familiarius concurrat" (1.30:106-07)[4]

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[3] Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, eds. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). Citations are by book, chapter, and page numbers, and are noted in my text. All translations are from this edition.

[4] "'When the people see that their shrines are not destroyed they will be able to banish error from their hearts and be more ready to come to the places they are familiar with, but now recognizing and worshipping the true God.'" It perhaps is idiosyncratic of Bede that he later describes a letter from Gregory to King Æthelbert, in whose kingdom Mellitus was residing, with just the opposite instructions. In this letter, Gregory encourages the king to zealously push for the conversion of his people to Christianity, explaining that he should "suppress the worship of idols; overthrow their buildings and shrines" (1.32:112-13). Allen J. Frantzen, in his chapter on King Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care, in King Alfred (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), argues that Gregory used a dialectical method of argumentation, "in which two alternatives are juxtaposed and the pastor is exhorted to avoid the extremes of either and to seek a middle ground" (31). In other words, Gregory is telling Mellitus to pursue his missionary role with moderation (a point he emphasizes in the first two books of his

Even the sacrifices of animals, he went on to say, could be assimilated into the Church's liturgy so that the people would be offering these sacrifices to God in a devout feast. The desired result was Christian conversion: "'ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reseruantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius ualeant."[5] Gregory goes on to explain that the process of conversion consists of a series of short steps, as

> "Nam duris mentibus simul omnia adscidere inposibile esse non dubium est, quia et is, qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus uel passibus, non autem saltibus elevatur." (1.30:108-09)[6]

Though it is improbable, according to Patrick Wormald, that this Anglo-Saxon conversion was a "smooth, almost automatic progress," as Bede depicts it,[7] this paradigm,

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Pastoral Care), in that he is to avoid the extremes of pagan worship and total destruction of all pagan temples and idols by removing only the idols and by adapting the temples for Christian worship. In addition, as Frantzen notes, the two letters also indicate Gregory's dual standard for the ruler and the ruled (37). Put simply, it is Æthelbert's sole responsibility, as king, to destroy pagan worhip among his people, not Mellitus'.

[5] "'Thus while some outward rejoicings are preserved, they will be able more easily to share in inward rejoicing.'"

[6] "'It is doubtless impossible to cut out everything at once from their stubborn minds: just as the man who is attempting to climb to the highest place, rises by steps and degrees and not by leaps.'"

[7] Patrick Wormald, "Anglo-Saxon Society and its Literature," The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature, eds. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (NY: Cambridge Uni-

nevertheless, does reveal the Church's attempts to refashion non-Christian customs for its own purposes.

This refashioning explains why the Christian liturgy displays marks of the surrounding secular environment dating from the earliest times of the Church, marks which John Niles says are "deep-set patterns of belief."[8] Jungman also observes that these marks should not be unexpected, as the "early Christians were, after all, men and women of the Greek and Roman culture and, although they became Christians, they yet retained the material and ideal formalities of their own cultural life." We can find many of these pagan cultural marks in the Christian liturgical

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versity Press, 1991), 1-22, 6. Wormald argues that Bede had an urgent didactic purpose in his History: he was seriously worried about the state of the Church. This purpose explains his use of an idealized, almost formulaic approach to historical writing. He wanted, according to Wormald, to "recall contemporaries to the example of their Christian evangelists." Inconsistencies are unimportant in this type of writing, Wormald seems to imply, in that the moral lesson justifies the idealized story. As a result, Bede describes a smooth conversion of the Anglo-Saxons in Book 1 but later, in Book 2, notes an example of missionary conflict, in that King Edwin hesitates to accept Christianity after hearing Paulinus' preaching. In this latter story, the important lesson concerns the certainty of Christian life, as depicted in the swallow analogy, rather than the ease of conversion (2.13:182-87).

[8] John Niles, "Pagan Survivals and Popular Belief," Cambridge Companion, 126-41, 140. The chapters by Niles and Wormald, cited above, contain general discussions about the presence of pagan marks on the Christian Church.

calendar,[9] the most striking of which are those found in the occasion of Rogationtide.

Rogationtide is a time of solemn supplication, consisting of a litany of saints chanted during processions on 25 April, called the "Major Litany," and on the three days prior to Ascension Day, called the "Minor Litanies."[10] The purpose of this chapter is to examine how the Church refashioned two non-Christian cultural practices into the occasion of Rogationtide by combining parts of the pagan-Roman Robigalian festival with those of the Old Testament Jewish prayer call and response, which the Christians later renamed the "litany." By examining this adaptation, we can discover examples of the cultural transmission of ideas between the eastern and the western Christian Churches. In addition, this examination reveals the important role Anglo-Saxon England played in that process of adaptation and transmission.

England, during most of the Anglo-Saxon period (c. 400-1066), was in a state of turmoil. Between the late fourth and early fifth centuries, it was a country of shifting racial distinctions. Not only were the Romans displacing the indigenous Celts at this time, but the pagan Angles,

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[9] Jungman, Early Liturgy, 132-34, 142.

[10] New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967 ed., s.v. "Rogation Days."

Saxons, and Jutes from northern Europe were invading this area.[11] After the Romans left in 410, the Anglo-Saxons drove the Celts out of most of England, but this process took a long time to accomplish. Even by the late sixth century, when the Christian missionaries arrived in England, the Anglo-Saxons were still fighting the Celts, as well as the Picts, the Scots, and each other.[12] In spite of, or perhaps due to this turmoil, the English Church, during the late seventh to the early ninth centuries, was able to refashion the western Major and Minor Litanies with an imported eastern litany of saints. The English then transmitted these new Rogationtide litanies to the Continent in a form that lasted until 1970, when the Second Vatican Council removed them from the liturgical calendar.[13]

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[11] Dorothy Whitelock, The Beginnings of English Society, 2nd ed., vol. 2 of The Pelican History of England (NY: Viking Penguin Inc., 1954), 11-12. Whitelock also notes here that Bede at first makes a distinction between the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes in his History (1.15:55-57) but later abandons that distinction. In this dissertation, I will use the term Anglo-Saxon in an inclusive sense to refer to all the inhabitants of England from 400-1066. Also, for the sake of clarity, I will use the term Old English to refer to their language.

[12] Henry Mayr-Harting, "The Pagan Kingdoms," The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England, 3rd ed. (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 13-39, 15-16.

[13] International Commission on English in the Liturgy, Documents on the Liturgy 1963-1979: Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1982), 5.1: 3811-13 and 5.5:4033. Citations are by chapter, section,

Rogationtide originated from the pagan-Roman festival of Robigalia. Publius Ovidius Nasso's Fasti (completed around 8 A.D.) contains the earliest, most complete description of this festival, which occurred every year on 25 April of the Esquiline, Caeretan, Maffeian, and Praenistine calendars.[14] Ovid reports that he was returning to Rome when he came upon a procession of white-robed people that was blocking the road. He says that a flamen (a pagan priest) was leading these people to a sacred grove to sacrifice the vital organs of a dog and a sheep by fire (4:907-08). Wanting to know more about this rite, Ovid questions the flamen, who, in response, recites a rather lengthy incantation to Robigo, the goddess of Mildew.[15] The flamen begins by asking Robigo to allow the crops to grow until they are ripe for harvesting. He then describes the power of this goddess, explaining that mildew is more

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and paragraph numbers.

[14] Ovid, Fasti: In Six Volumes, ed. and trans. James George Frazer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), 420-1. Frazer also notes here that Pliny, Festus, and Servius confirm this date for Robigalia in their writings. Citations from Ovid's text are by volume and line numbers, and are noted in my text.

[15] Frazer notes the questionable sexual identity of this deity when he points out in his Appendix that Ovid made the deity female (Robigo), which Columella and, later, the Church Fathers, Tertullian, Lectantius, and Augustine, supported. However, most other ancient authorities, such as Varro, Verrius Flaccus, Festus, Aulus Gellius, and Servius, favored a male diety (Robigus). See, Fasti, 421.

destructive than any type of bad weather.[16] After another supplication to spare the crops, the flamen suggests to Robigo that she destroy the weapons of war rather than the crops, as the world is at peace. The farmers, he explains, would be thankful to her for sparing their crops (4:915-32).

After noting that the flamen wore a towel over his right hand and carried a bowl of wine and a box of incense, Ovid reports that this priest put the wine, incense, and the sheep and dog entrails on a pyre at the sacred grove of Robigo. Not understanding why the flamen was sacrificing a dog during this festival, Ovid asks him for an explanation. The flamen states that the dog was associated with the Dog constellation, which, when it arose, parched and dried the earth, ripening the crops too soon. The dog was a symbol, he says, for that constellation (4:933-42).

Though Columella indicates that the blood and bowels of a suckling puppy appeased the goddess Robigo, Ovid actually is describing two separate festivals: Robigalia, a fixed occasion, and the Dog Sacrifice, a movable one. The rising of Sirius, the Dog-star, is around the second day of August, when the summer heat is the most intense; however, according to James George Frazer, books of the pontiffs established

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[16] For a discussion of other agricultural cults concerning rust (mildew), see H. J. Rose, "Lua Mater: Fire, Rust, and War in Early Roman Cults," The Classical Review 36 (1922): 15-18.

the taking of omens from red-bitch dogs (auguries), the practice of which presumably coincided with all dog sacrifices at the end of April or the beginning of May, "'before the corn has sprouted from the sheath, but not before it is in the sheath.'" It is possible, though coincidental, that the movable Dog Sacrifice fell on the same day as the fixed festival of Robigalia, which occurred on 25 April, when Ovid encountered the procession outside of Rome.[17]

Other classical-Roman writers, though less descriptive than Ovid, nevertheless furnish important historical information about the founding and naming of Robigalia. Pliny (62-113 A.D.) reports in his Natural History that Numa Pompilius instituted this festival in the eleventh year of his reign.[18] Numa was the legendary king of Rome who succeeded Romulus. His reign, during which he reportedly established many religious institutions, was regarded as the

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[17] Fasti, 421-22. Interestingly, in terms of Old English Rogationtide homilies, Ælfric, the tenth-century abbot of Eynsham, wrote a sermon for the Major Litany, entitled Sermo in Laetania Maiore [De Auguriis], which exhorts against the use of auguries. Ælfric possibly was associating the Christian Rogationtide with this pagan-Roman Robigalian practice. This Ælfrician homily appears in Ælfric's Lives of Saints, Being a Set of Sermons on Saints' Days Formerly Observed by the English Church, ed. Walter W. Skeat, vol. 1 of 2, E.E.T.S. o.s. 94 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890), 364-83.

[18] Fasti, 421.

Golden Age of Rome.[19] Varro (116-27 B.C.), whose two surviving works, De lingue latina and De re rustica, Frazer considers to be sources for Ovid's Fasti, is the first known writer to mention that Robigalia was named after the god Robigus.[20]

Another classical-Roman writer, Verrius Flaccus (c. 27 B.C.), describes the route of the Robigalian procession. In a note attributed to him in the Praenestine Calendar, he reports that the sacred grove for the Robigalian sacrifices was located at the fifth milestone on the Claudian Way.[21] From this information, we can determine the type of procession used for that festival, in that the pagan Romans, had two religious processions: amburbalia, around the city; and ambarvalia, around the fields.[22] As the Milvian Bridge marks the fifth milestone outside of Rome, we can conclude that Ovid encountered an ambarvalian procession on its way

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[19] Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, comp. Paul Harvey (NY: Oxford University Press, 1937), 289.

[20] Fasti, xxvii, 421.

[21] Fasti, 421.

[22] Francis X. Weiser, "Rogation Days," Handbook of Christian Feasts and Customs: The Year of the Lord in Liturgy and Folklore (NY: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954), 38-46, 40.

to the sacred grove of Robigo.[23]

Robigalia consisted of a supplicatory procession that ended in a sacrifice, whereby the people asked Robigo to protect their crops from mildew. In 312, when the emperor Constantine made Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire,[24] this festival was still popular, according to Francis X. Weiser. Though we do not know exactly when or how the Christian observance of Rogationtide began, we do have a good idea as to the context in which it was formed. The fourth-century Church accepted several features of the pagan festival, including its motive (a supplication for the protection of crops), its date (25 April), and its procession.[25] An examination of how the Church refashioned this last feature gives us a better understanding about the formation of the Christian occasion of Rogationtide.

The fourth-century Roman Church had a wide variety of processions. Sometime around the end of the fifth century, the Christians began to accompany these processions with the

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[23] A conclusion that is supported by Weiser, "Rogation," 40, and Adolf Adam, The Liturgical Year: Its History and Its Meaning After the Reform of the Liturgy, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (NY: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1981), 191.

[24] Joseph R. Strayer and Dana C. Munro, The Middle Ages: 395-1500, 4th ed. (NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1959), 18.

[25] Weiser, "Rogation," 40.

chanting of a litany. The litany was the Christian name for a Jewish prayer call and response, in which one or more persons recited a public invocation to God that the rest of those present replied to with a response, such as "His mercy endures forever" (Psalm 135) or "Praise and exalt him above all forever" (Daniel 3:57-87).[26] Michael Lapidge reports that evidence from the first century, such as that found in the epistles of St. Paul, supports the idea that litanies were widely practiced by the Church from its earliest times.[27]

The use of litanies spread from the eastern to the western Christian regions. The first known use of them in eastern worship was in Antioch during the second half of the fourth century. By the end of that century, it had spread to Jerusalem, from which it was transmitted to Syria, to Constantinople, and finally to the remainder of the east. It is not known definitively if the eastern litany spread to the west from Syria or Constantinople; however, the earliest extant western litany is the late fifth-century Roman Deprerecatio gelasii, which has a number of close

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[26] Weiser, "Rogation," 38-40.

[27] Michael Lapidge, Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints, ed. Michael Lapidge (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1991), 1-61, 2. One example of Paul's reference to public supplications is in 1 Timothy 2:1-2, where he exhorts Christians to recite supplicatory prayers for kings and for the Church in general.

similarities in form and in content to the litanies from Constantinople.[28]

Though there were many occasions in which litanies were used, including during a Mass, before a baptism, and in the prayers for the dying, Weiser notes that litanies more frequently accompanied processions "because the short invocations and exclamatory answers provided a convenient form of common prayer for a multitude in motion."[29] The fourth-century eastern Church was the first to make a connection between litanies and solemn processions by referring to them both as "litanies."[30] Soon afterwards, Weiser reports, this custom of calling a solemn procession a "litany" spread to the western Christian churches, so that in 511 the first Council of Orléans "incorporated this usage into the official terminology of the Church."[31]

One particular use of this litanic procession, Lapidge notes, was for times of peril, a use which was popular in the west from the sixth century onwards. Pope Pelagius (556-561), according to the Liber pontificalis, held a litanic procession from S. Pancrazio to St. Peter's, and

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[28] A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship, 1972 ed., s.v. "Litany."

[29] Weiser, "Rogation," 39.

[30] Lapidge, Introduction, 8.

[31] Weiser, "Rogation," 39.

"this litany was penitential insofar as it was meant to demonstrate Pelagius's innocence of the murder of his predecessor Vigilius." Likewise, Gregory the Great held a procession on St. Mark's Day (25 April) in 590 to "avert divine wrath in the form of a plague." He instituted what he called a "sevenfold" litany, by which he meant "that seven separate processions, each starting from a different church, should make their way to the church of S. Maria Maggiore." Gregory of Tours (c. 538-594), relying on an eye-witness account by Agiulf, one of the Pope's deacons, noted that these processions were called "litanies" because of the litanic prayers which were chanted during them.[32]

Given this familiarity with processions, especially with litanic processions for times of danger, it seems reasonable to conclude that some Christian form of Robigalia was observed on 25 April from the fourth through the fifth centuries and that later, during the sixth century, the litany was added, giving it a more penitential significance. It was Pope Gregory, according to Weiser, who first called this litanic procession held on 25 April the "Major Litany" in 604 and spoke of the "return of this annual solemnity," implying that the penitential observance already was "a traditional feature in his day." The name "Major Litany"

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[32] Lapidge, Introduction, 10-11. This sevenfold litany was not an annual observance.

also was applied to other solemn processions in Rome, such as those on Ember Fridays, until later, when the name was applied exclusively to the procession on 25 April.[33]

Though litanic processions were popular in the western Church during the sixth century, the earliest reference to processions for natural disasters was in the eastern Church. In 430, the Emperor Theodosius and the Patriarch Proculus instituted a penitential procession after an earthquake in Constantinople.[34] The western Church's early use of litanic processions for natural disasters, however, had a far greater impact on the transmission of this practice. In 452, Vienne, in Dauphiné (Gaul), was beset by a series of earthquakes, floods, and fires, and the royal palace was destroyed by lightning.[35] Mamertus, the bishop of Vienne, believing these disasters to be caused by the sins of his people, prescribed a series of penitential litanic

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[33] Weiser, "Rogation," 40-41. Gregory's comments are contained in a letter without address in Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, vol. 27 of 217 (Paris: Excudebat Sirou, 1844-55), 1327. The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (1911 ed., s.v. "Litany") reports that it is possible, though not known for certain, that Pope Liberius may have originally instituted the Christian version of Robigalia during his papal reign (352-66).

[34] Lapidge, Introduction, 8.

[35] A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, (1880), s.v. "Rogation Days."

processions.[36] Sidonius Apollinaris, a contemporary of Mamertus', according to Edmund Bishop, wrote that this bishop invented, introduced, and established the solemnity of rogations. However, he went on to say, "rogations for fine weather had been in use in the dioscese of Vienne before his time, but were attended to only in an off-hand sort of way."[37] Sidonius' remarks contain the first usage of the term "rogation" (from the Latin verb rogare, meaning "to ask"[38]) to refer to these litanic penitential processions.[39] Avitus, who was Mamertus' successor as bishop from around 494-517, in his Homilia in rogationibus, states that Mamertus decreed a fast and a set of processions for the three days prior to Ascension Day as a means of supplication to God.[40] He also notes that the practice of rogations started to spread to other churches in Gaul at

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[36] Lapidge, Introduction, 8.

[37] Edmund Bishop, Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church (NY: Oxford University Press, 1918), 129.

[38] Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English, 1958 ed., s.v. "Rogation."

[39] L. Duchesne, Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution: A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne, trans. M.L. McClure (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1903), 289n.

[40] Lapidge, Introduction, 8.

this time.[41]

From the sixth century onward, churches in neighboring countries to Gaul began to hold litanic processions at times of danger.[42] This litanic practice spread to the Frankish (Merovingian) region of France by 511,[43] to Lyons sometime between 567-70,[44] to Spain in the sixth century, and to the German part of the Frankish empire by 813. Though these rogations for the three days before Ascension Day were called "Gallican Litanies," as their origin was in Gaul,[45] it was the Council of Orléans in 511 that renamed them the "Minor Litanies" to differentiate them from the "Major Litany" of 25 April.[46]

The Roman Church, meanwhile, did not accept these Minor Litanies into its liturgy until the ninth century. The main reason for Rome's reluctance, according to Weiser, was that the penitential character of the Minor Litanies "did not agree with the ancient practice of the Roman Church which excluded penitential rites on all days between Easter and

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[41] Bishop, Liturgica, 129.

[42] Lapidge, "Introduction," 10.

[43] Weiser, "Rogation," 41.

[44] Archdale A. King, Liturgies of the Primatial Sees (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1957), 9, 302.

[45] Weiser, "Rogation," 41-42.

[46] Lapidge, Introduction, 9-10.

Pentecost." In 816, however, Charlemagne and the Frankish bishops convinced Pope Leo III to "incorporate these litanies into the Roman liturgy." A compromise was reached in which the observance of a fast during the Minor Litanies was removed, but the penitential processions were kept. Further, the formula of the Major Litany, taken from the Roman liturgical books, was used as the Mass text for the Minor Litanies, indicating an early blending of their distinctions. The Frankish Church, at the Council of Aachen in 836, in return, decreed that the Minor Litanies likewise would be held without a fast. Subsequently, the entire Christian Church accepted the custom of holding these litanies on the three days before Ascension Day.[47]

From the sixth century onwards, according to Lapidge, the word "litany" had a wide range of meanings,

> from litanic or supplicatory prayers used in Mass and Office, to penitential processions accompanied by petitions or rogationes (which must have included litanic prayers of some sort), and to the annual feasts on which such processions took place, namely the Major Litanies (Great Rogations) of 25 April, and the Minor Litanies (Lesser Rogations) on the three days before Ascension.[48]

These forms of liturgical observance, he goes on to say, were familiar with the Roman missionaries who travelled to England in 597, as their bishop, Augustine, "was a close

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[47] Weiser, "Rogation," 41-42.

[48] Lapidge, Introduction, 11.

associate of Pope Gregory, and was prior of Gregory's monastery of St. Andrew." It was Augustine who brought the "Roman liturgical practice to England, and this will have included the use of litanic prayer."[49]

Bede's History contains a specific reference to Augustine's use of the litanies, a reference that reveals not only the transmission of ideas but also further evidence of cultural adaptation. Bede reports that Augustine and his monks approached King Æthelbert in a procession, in which "laetaniasque canentes pro sua simul et eorum, propter quos et ad quos uenerant, salute aeterna Domino supplicabant."[50] Afterwards, Æthelbert allowed Augustine and his monks to live in Canterbury, and Bede describes their procession:

> Fertur autem, quia adpropinquantes ciuitati more suo cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Iesu Christi hanc laetaniam consona uoce modularentur: "Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a ciuitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus. Alleluia" (1.25:74-75)[51]

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[49] Lapidge, Introduction, 11.

[50] "They chanted litanies and uttered prayers to the Lord for their own eternal salvation and the salvation of those for whom and to whom they had come."

[51] "It is related that as they approached the city in accordance with their custom carrying the holy cross and the image of our King and Lord, Jesus Christ, they sang this litany in unison: 'We beseech Thee, O Lord, in Thy great mercy, that Thy wrath and anger may be turned away from this city and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia.'"

This "Deprecamur te, Domine" litany that Augustine and his followers recited on their way to Canterbury, according to Lapidge, was used for the Minor Litanies; however, its use at the end of the sixth century is anachronistic. He quotes Donald Bullough as saying that this litany is included in the liturgical and devotional florilegium, entitled De laude Dei, compiled by Alcuin (735-804), and it would not have been among the Roman litanic prayers familiar to Augustine. Bullough suggests that Augustine and his followers probably were "chanting litanies like those used by Pope Gregory on St. Mark's day 590," that is, petitions with the response of Kyrie eleison.[52]

Lapidge points out that the ninth-century anonymous translator of the Old English version of Bede's History also referred to these litanies in terms of a form unknown in Bede's day. He reports that during Augustine's procession

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[52] Quoted in Lapidge, Introduction, 11-12. Augustine would have been familiar with the litanic response of Kyrie eleison, as it was part of the litany that Gregory would later call the "Major Litany." Also, though he may not have been familiar with the Minor Litanies, per se, as they were not accepted in Rome until the ninth century, Augustine's route would have taken him through Gaul, where, at that time, they were firmly established. It is possible, then, that Augustine was responsible for introducing the Major Litany, which he already knew, and the Gallican Minor Litanies, which he acquired during his trip, to Anglo-Saxon England. This possibility also is posited by Colgrave and Mynors in their edition of Bede's History, 76; and John William Horsley, A Commentary on the Litany (London: Skeffington and Son, 1915), 1.

to Canterbury "wæron haligra naman rimende and gebedo singende." This type of petition to holy people during a procession is a very specific form of litany: the litany of saints.[53] As such, Bede's text contains one of the earliest references to the litany of saints in the western Church and the earliest reference to its use in conjunction with Rogationtide.

Lapidge notes that no one knows when or where petitions to saints were added to the litanies. We do know that "No litany containing petitions to individual saints is found in any western (Latin) liturgical source before the eighth century." However, the precedents for this form of litany are found in the eastern Church's liturgy. The earliest extant eastern text, the Liturgy of St. James, dating from the late fourth century, contains a litany with petitions to Mary, John the Baptist, the apostles, prophets, and martyrs. Later, from around the sixth to the seventh centuries, the Grottaferrata manuscript (MS. ΓβVI) contains a Greek litany with a petition to Mary. Also from the same time, two other Greek manuscripts have generic resemblances to the petition in the Grottaferrata manuscript. Lapidge posits that "Greek litanies of the saints were in common use in eastern churches from the fourth century onwards, and certainly from

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[53] Lapidge, Introduction, 25.

the sixth or seventh." These litanies, he notes, were not universally recognized nor did they have a fixed form. However, a Syriac litany dating from no earlier than the seventh century does contain characteristic elements in its list of petitions that are very similar to those found in later Western litanies. One striking similarity is the order of its petitions: beginning with Mary, they progress to the archangels, to John the Baptist, to prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins, and, finally, to all male and female saints.[54]

Bede's account of Theodore's consecration in Rome in 664 as Archbishop of Canterbury and of his journey to Anglo-Saxon England offers a possible and intriguing explanation for the transmission of the litany of saints from the east to England and for their subsequent infusion into the Major and Minor Litanies. Bede reports that Theodore, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was living in Rome at the time Pope Vitalian asked Abbot Hadrian to be archbishop. Hadrian declined, but he suggested the suitability of Theodore for that position. Theodore, Bede reports, was sixty-six years old, knew both sacred and secular literature in Latin and Greek, and was of upright character (4.1:330-01). Other than these details, Bede is silent about Theodore's early

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[54] Lapidge, Introduction, 13, 16-8.

life.

Recent research has amplified Bede's account. Lapidge notes that the discovery and forthcoming publication of a series of biblical commentaries attributed to Theodore "throw new light on his education and learning."[55] Theodore, as Bede mentioned, was a native of Tarsus, which was part of Antioch. He was probably a student in Antioch or in neighboring Edessa and familiar "with the use of litanies in public processions as well as in private prayer; in particular, he will have known the form of the litany of saints which had developed there by the seventh century," as represented by the Grottaferrata and Syriac litanies. A similar litany of saints formed part of a book of Greek prayers that Theodore brought with him to Rome and later, after his consecration, to England.[56]

Theodore's litany of saints, according to Lapidge, was translated from Greek into Latin in Canterbury, and subsequently one of his students, Oftfor, took that translation to Worcester, where, in the eighth century, it was copied into London, British Library, Royal Manuscript 2.A.XX. Theodore's original book survived for several

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[55] Lapidge furnishes an extensive description of how Theodore brought the litanies to England, and my summary is based on his material.

[56] Lapidge, Introduction, 20, 24.

centuries, "unscathed by the Viking depredations which racked ninth century England," until the reign of Athelstan (924-939) when it was discovered by Israel the Grammarian, who copied the Greek litany into London, British Library, Cotton Galba A. xviii (the "Athelstan Psalter"), the earliest extant litany of saints in the Latin west.[57]

By the tenth century, the Greek text of this litany of saints was of little more liturgical interest than as a specimen of that language. However, Lapidge notes that "in the late seventh and early eighth centuries this same litany had served as the starting point for the growth of a liturgical form which, by the late eighth century," had spread throughout Anglo-Saxon England and to the Continent. By the second half of the eighth century, a form of this popular litany of saints, as represented in Galba A., had travelled from Anglo-Saxon England to the Continent. Interestingly, the earliest continental use of this form is in the treatise Institutio de diversitate officiorum by Angilbert of Saint-Riquier (d. 814), in which that litany of saints accompanies the solemn processions on the Rogation Days.[58]

Anglo-Saxon England, then, was the focal point for the

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[57] Lapidge, Introduction, 13-14, 24.

[58] Lapidge, Introduction, 24-26.

refashioning of the Rogationtide litanies and for the transmission of the new form to the Continent. Augustine brought the Major Litany from Rome and the Gallican Litanies (Minor Litanies) from Gaul to England in 597. Approximately seventy years later, Theodore brought the eastern litany of saints with him from Antioch by way of Rome when he travelled to England. Sometime between the late seventh and the early eighth centuries, the English Church refashioned the continental forms of the Rogationtide Litanies by infusing them with the popular litany of saints. It was this hybrid form that has survived virtually unchanged until recent times.

CHAPTER 2

THE LATIN ROGATIONTIDE TRADITION

In the previous chapter, I examined how the Church conflated the pagan-Roman festival of Robigalia with a Jewish prayer call and response to form the Christian occasion of Rogationtide. I also described Anglo-Saxon England's role in this process as a focal point into which the Latin Rogationtide litanies from the Continent converged at the end of the sixth century and from which, after being refashioned with an eastern litany of saints, the resulting hybrid forms diverged back to the Continent at the end of the eighth century. We can see a similar ecclesiastical convergence of ideas in England shortly after this dissemination, in that the vernacular Rogationtide homilists writing during the tenth through the early twelfth centuries relied heavily on continental Latin sources. In this chapter, I will analyze the Rogationtide sources found in two collections of Latin texts--lectionaries and homiliaries--that informed those homilists in order to establish a Latin literary history for the vernacular Rogationtide corpus.

The tradition of vernacular composition in England developed sometime during the late Anglo-Saxon period.[1] The earliest sources of information on the vernacular tradition are found in two late tenth-century manuscript collections: the Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII) and the Blickling Homilies (Princeton University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection).[2] These two collections, Donald G. Scragg reports, teach us that "From the beginning of the tradition as it survives now, writers quoted earlier sermons extensively and often verbatim." The homilies in these collections, in other words, seem to be largely unoriginal, in that the vernacular writers appropriated Latin sources for their texts. This pattern "is repeated throughout the eleventh century as sermon writers quarried existing books for material."[3]

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[1] Donald G. Scragg, "Homiliaries and Homilies. Anonymous Old English Homilies," Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version, eds. Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach, vol. 2 of Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York at Binghamton, 1990), 123-30, 124.

[2] Scragg discusses the dating of the Vercelli homilies in his edition of the Vercelli Book: The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts, ed. D.G. Scragg, EETS o.s. 300 (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), xxxviii-xli.

[3] Scragg, "Homilaries," 124. For a discussion of ways in which these collections supply evidence about the work of Latin writers, see Joan Turville-Petre, "Sources of the Vernacular Homily in England, Norway and Iceland," Arkiv för Nordik Filologi 75(1960): 168-82. Milton Gatch reports, in Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and

One of the main English precedents for this period of what James E. Cross calls "accepted plagiarism"[4] is Bede's History. Bede compiled a large number of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin sources for use in his text. This compilation affected English medieval scholarship in two ways: it made a large number of authors accessible to his audience, and it provided examples on the use of sources.[5]

Bede's method of borrowing extensively from the materials of other writers was not unusual. The Church Fathers, such as Saints Jerome and Augustine, with whom Bede was familiar, practiced and acknowledged this method of writing. St. Jerome (c. 340-420) was a compiler of Greek learning, though he sometimes quoted rabbinic traditions without citing his sources.[6] Saint Augustine (354-430) in

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Wulfstan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), that the purpose of borrowing Latin sources was to pass on the "traditional teachings of the church." As a result, such a practice gives early medieval theology its conservative character (4).

[4] James E. Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxons - On Sources and Disseminations," Proceedings of the British Academy 58(1972): 67-100, 71.

[5] Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), 21.

[6] Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, eds. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), xxv. Subsequent citations are by book, chapter, and page numbers, and are noted in by text.

Book 4 of his De doctrina Christiana[7] justifies this practice when he says that someone who wishes to speak wisely but who cannot speak eloquently should rely on Scriptural words (4.5:24-27). The Anglo-Saxon homilists, following these prescriptions of the Church Fathers and writers such as Bede, appropriated various Latin sources when they wrote their homilies.[8]

The works of three ninth-century Carolingian clerics, Smaragdus, Haymo of Auxerre, and Rabanus Maurus, greatly influenced the Old English Rogationtide homilists, as the latter appropriated their writings extensively.[9] In

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[7] My Latin text is from Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera, De doctrina Christiana: Libri quattuor, ed. Guilelmus M. Green, vol. 80 of Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vindobonae: Hoelder-Pichler-Temsky, 1963). Citations are by book, section, and line numbers, and are noted in my text. My translations are from Saint Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, trans. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (NY: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1958).

[8] For a discussion of the influential importance of Augustine's De doctrina Christiana throughout the western Church, see R.W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953), 170-71. Also, see Smalley, Study, 37, for a description of the influence Charlemagne's Carolingian program of Bible study, in which the studies of the Scriptures and of the works of the Church Fathers were inseparable, and Bede had on the writings of English clerics.

[9] Joyce Hill, Cyril Smetana, and Milton Gatch have all described the connection between these three Latin clerics and the vernacular homilists, specifically with Ælfric. See, Joyce Hill, "Ælfric and Smaragdus," Anglo-Saxon England 21 (1992): 203-237; Cyril Smetana, "Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt," Traditio 17(1961): 457-69; and Gatch, Preaching, 5, 49-50. For a general discussion about Father

addition to their other works, all three of these clerics wrote homilies for Rogationtide which followed the texts of two particular pericopes from the Bible (Luke 11:6-13 and James 5:16-20) in a continuous gloss,[10] supporting the notion that the continental Church used these two scriptural lessons for that liturgical occasion. The Anglo-Saxon Rogationtide homilists appropriated this liturgical practice, as we find references to these scriptural passages throughout the vernacular corpus.[11]

Smaragdus (d. 843) was a student of St. Benedict of Nursia and eventually succeeded him in 814 as the abbot of Monte Cassino.[12] His homily, In litania majori (PL 102:303-07),[13] consists of three parts. The first is an

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Smetana's argument, see James E. Cross, Ælfric and the Mediæval Homiliary - Objection and Contribution (Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1963), 3-4.

[10] For a general discussion of medieval homiletic format, see John W. O'Malley, "Introduction: Medieval Preaching," De Ore Domini: Preacher and the Word in the Middle Ages, eds. Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green, and Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), 1-11.

[11] Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies, eds. Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), xx-xxi.

[12] Dictionary of Catholic Biography, 1961 ed., s.v. "St. Smaragdus."

[13] Patrologiæ Latina: Cursus Completus, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Excudebat Sirou, 1844-1875). Citations are by book, volume, and page numbers, and are noted in my text.

exegesis of each of the five verses of James 5:16-20; the second contains a typological explanation of those same verses; and the third is an exegesis of Luke 11:6-13.[14] Haimo of Auxerre (d. c.855) was a Benedictine monk who taught at his Abbey of Saint-Germain in Auxerre.[15] He wrote two exegetical Rogationtide homilies on the two gospel and epistle lessons: Homily 91 (PL 118:529-30) on James 5:16-20, and Homily 92 (PL 118:530-34) on Luke 11:6-13. Both of these homilies are entitled Feria secunda post 'Vocem jucunditatis,' in litaniis majoribus. Rabanus Maurus (c. 784-856) was the archbishop of Mainz and Haymo's friend, and like Haymo he was a student of Alcuin.[16] His Rogationtide Homily 42 (PL 110:223-24), In litania majore, and Homily 43 (PL 110:224-26), In eodem festo, contain exegeses of those same lessons.

A brief synopsis of each of these scriptural lessons reveals their relationship to Rogationtide.[17] In the

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[14] Migne also includes a summary of St. Smaragdus' Rogationtide sermon in his Summarium in Epistolas et Evangelia (PL 102:571).

[15] New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967 ed., s.v. "Haimo of Auxerre."

[16] DCB, s.v. "Bl. Rabanus Maurus."

[17] The Latin Vulgate text for these scriptural passages is from Biblia Sacra: Iuxta vulgatam versionem (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969). Citations are by book, chapter, and verse numbers, and are noted in my text. English translations are from The Holy Bible: Translated from

gospel lesson (Luke 11:6-13), Christ wonders how someone would react if a friend knocked on his door at midnight asking for bread for a guest who just arrived. At first, he explains, the person might tell his friend to go away, as he is in bed, but if the friend persistently knocks, that person will arise and give him as much bread as he needed. Christ explains this exemplum when he states,

> Et ego vobis dico petite et dabitur vobis et dabitur vobis quaerite et invenietis pulsate et aperietur vobis omnis enim qui petit accipit et qui quaerit invenit et pulsanti aperietur (Luke 11:9-10)[18]

He then makes an analogy between each of the disciples asking his earthly father for gifts and asking his spiritual Father for the Holy Spirit:

> quis autem ex vobis patrem petet panem numquid lapidem dabit illi aut piscem numquid pro pisce serpentem dabit illi aut si petierit ovum numquid porriget illi scorpionem si ergo vos cum sitis mali nostis bona data dare filiis vestris quanto magis Pater vester de caelo dabit spiritum bonum petentibus se (Luke 11:11-13)[19]

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the Latin Vulgate, rev. ed. Douay Rheims Version (Rockford, IL: Tan Books and Publishers, Inc., 1989). Citations are the same as above, and are noted in my footnotes.

[18] "And I say to you, Ask, and it shall be given to you: seek, and you shall find: knock, and it shall be opened to you. For every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened."

[19] "And which of you, if he ask his father bread, will he give him a stone? or a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent? Or if he shall ask an egg, will he reach him a scorpion? If you then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father from

In the epistle lesson (James 5:16-20), James exhorts his listeners to confess their sins and to pray for one another, "enim valet deprecatio iusti adsidua" (James 5: 16).[20] He then presents an abridged version of the Old Testament story of Elias as an explanation of the importance and results of prayer:

> Helias homo erat similis nobis passibilis et oratione oravit ut non plueret super terram et non pluit annos tres et menses sex et rursum oravit et caelum debit pluviam et terra debit fructum suum (James 5:17-18)[21]

In the Old Testament story of Elias (III Kings 16-18), Elias tells Achab, the evil king of Israel, that because of his sins, it will not rain for three years. After that time, he chastises the king for following Baal instead of the Lord, exhorts the prophets of that god to follow God, and devises a way in which to convince these people that the Lord is the true God. For this latter plan he has them cut a bullock into pieces, place it on their altar, and ask Baal to light the sacrificial fire. After nothing happens, Elias rebuilds the altar of the Lord and lays the bullock pieces on it. He

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heaven give to the good Spirit to them that ask him?"

[20] "for the continual prayer of a just man avileth much."

[21] "Elias was a man possible like unto us: and with prayer he prayed that it might not rain upon the earth, and it rained not for three years and six months. And he prayed again: and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruits."

asks God to light the sacrificial fire, which He does. The people then return to God, and Elias prophesizes that the rains will return. With this Old Testament context, James ends his epistle lesson by explaining the importance of converting those who, like Achab, are in error (James 5:19-20).

Both of these lessons emphasize the importance of asking God for something through prayer. The connection between asking and Rogationtide is clear when we remember, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, that the word "rogation" is derived from the Latin verb rogare, meaning "to ask." The tables in early Latin lectionaries also showed a connection between these two lessons about asking and Rogationtide. Lectionaries are liturgical volumes containing passages to be read during the church services, and the tables in them assign gospel and epistle lections for specific liturgical days.[22]

The practice of using lectionaries dates from the third century and was universally popular in the Church by the end of the fourth. However, there was a considerable amount of variation in detail between lectionaries due to different

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[22] The Catholic Encyclopedia, 1910 ed., s.v. "Lectionary."

regional Church customs,[23] a fact which Bede alludes to in the first book of his History. At the end of the sixth century, Augustine wrote to Pope Gregory, advising him of his missionary progress and seeking his advice on why certain customs, such as the method of saying Mass, varied between the different churches. Gregory responded that Augustine was familiar with Roman customs, but if he found others to be more acceptable, he should select and teach them to the English people (1.27:78-79, 80-83). The Pope was acknowledging the variety of regional customs within the western Church as well as urging Augustine to adapt them as needed.

These regional variations also affected lectionary practices. Different regions prescribed different lections for each particular liturgical day, as we see when we compare three of the extant western lectionary tables. The first is the Roman Comes, ascribed to St. Jerome, though dating not from the fourth century but probably from the seventh or eighth. The second is a Gallican lectionary table, which was rendered accessible by the works of Cardinal Bona in 1672 in his De rebus liturgicis, of Thomasius in 1680 in his Liber sacramentorum, and of Mabillon in 1685 in his De liturgia Gallicana. The third is

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[23] Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, 1880 ed., s.v. "Lectionary."

a Spanish lectionary table, the Mozarabic, which in spite of considerable divergences seems to have had the same origin as the Gallican table. Due to regional variations in customs, neither the Gallican nor the Spanish tables cites lessons for Rogationtide; however, the Roman table indicates a gospel lesson (Luke 11:6-13) and a epistle lesson (James 5:16-20) as being appropriate for that occasion.[24]

Smaragdus, Haymo of Auxerre, and Rabanus Maurus probably utilized a Comes lectionary table when they wrote their Rogationtide homilies. Given the popularity of this Roman lectionary and of the writings of these three Latin clerics in Anglo-Saxon England, it seems plausible that the vernacular Rogationtide homilists appropriated these scriptural pericopes for that occasion from these Latin sources.

It might appear that, as Milton McC. Gatch notes, after cataloguing all of the possible Latin sources for any particular literary item which the Anglo-Saxon homilists used, that they "had a far larger library than might have been expected." More than likely, however, these homilists relied on Latin collections similar to our modern anthologies, such as homiliaries, "which gathered selected sermons of the Fathers for devotional reading or for reading

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[24] DCA, s.v. "Lectionary."

in a liturgical setting on appropriate occasions."[25] It is interesting to note that the plan and content of some of these homiliaries reflect those of the earlier Roman lectionary, a fact that reveals the Roman influence on liturgical practices of the rest of the Continent.[26] Also, we can see numerous examples in the Old English homilies of the use of Latin texts appropriated from homiliaries,[27] including those written for Rogationtide.

Two of the most important early homiliaries were

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[25] Gatch, Preaching, 5. For general discussions about homiliaries, see Henri Barré, Les Homéliaires Carolingiens de l'École d'Auxerre, Studie Testi 225 (Vatican City, 1962); Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, 1969 ed., s.v. "Homéliaires" (Barré wrote the entry); Gatch, Preaching, 25-39; and Réginald Grégoire, Les Homéliares du Moyen Age: Inventaire et Analyse des Manuscrits, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior: Fontes, 6 (Rome, 1966). Grégoire's preface contains an interesting discussion by Jean Leclercq about homiliaries.

[26] Cyril L. Smetana, "Paul the Deacon's Patristic Anthology," The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds, eds. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1978): 75-97, 76-77.

[27] Several scholars have written about the use of Latin homiliaries in Old English homilies. See, Mary Clayton, "Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England," Pertita 4(1985): 207-42; Gatch, Preaching, 27-30; Hill, "Ælfric," 203-09; Donald G. Scragg, "Homiliaries and Homilies: Anonymous Old English Homilies," Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture, eds. Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach, vol. 74 of Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Binghamton: State University of New York, 1990), 123-30; and Smetana, "Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo," 457-69, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary," Traditio 15(1959): 163-204, and "Paul the Deacon's Patristic Anthology," 75-97.

written by Paul the Deacon (720-799) and by Alan of Farfa (d. 770), and were known and used by many Anglo-Saxon homilists. Each one contains texts designated for Rogationtide which appear in many of the vernacular homilies for that occasion. Charlemagne (742-814), according to Gatch, commissioned Paul the Deacon to "clean up the homiliary," as he found the lections for the Night Office ill-suited and unintelligible. Rather than being a textual editor, however, Paul was an anthologizer, in that he presented appropriate homilies for each occasion of the liturgical year.[28]

In the second part of his homiliary, Paul ascribes one homily for the Major Litany: Maximus' Homily 90 (PL 57:459-62).[29] This homily is an explication of the third chapter of the Book of the Prophecy of Jonas from the Old Testament, concerning Jonah and the people of Ninive. Though this scriptural reference is not a lection for Rogationtide and seems to have nothing to do with that occasion, Maximus' explication of it emphasizes traditional observances for that liturgical time, particularly that of asking for protection from some danger. He explains that Jonah fasts

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[28] Gatch, Preaching, 28-29.

[29] Both Paul the Deacon's and Alan of Farfa's homiliaries are reproduced in Grégoire, Homéliaires. The reference to Maximus' homily is on page 90.

and prays for three days and nights to ask God to release him from his affliction (being stuck in the belly of a whale). Later, after Jonah tells the people of Ninive that God will destroy them and their city, they fast, wear sackcloth and ashes, and cry to the Lord to ask Him for his mercy. Maximus then argues that like these people, his listeners should fast together for a short time in order to receive the joy of God forever.[30]

The sources for fasting and for wearing sackcloth and ashes during Rogationtide in order to ask for God's protection from some danger originate in the earliest extant reference to the Minor Litanies and in a later canon law written for the Council of Mainz. Though Mamertus commonly is thought to have founded the Minor Litanies, as I noted in my previous chapter, nothing he wrote survived, so we have to turn to the writings of one of his contemporaries, Sidonius Apollinaris (c. 431-489), to give us some insight into their observances. Sidonius was a bishop who frequently consulted Mamertus.[31] Two of his letters

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[30] Maximus' argument reads, "Tota Ninivitarum civitas in tribulatione jejanavit; nos quoque temporum angustias sustinentes omnes pariter jejunare debemus, et misericordiam Dei cunctorum abstinentia implorare" (PL 57:459).

[31] DCB, s.v. "Sidonius Apollinaris."

describe the founding and observances of the Minor Litanies.[32] In one, written to his friend Aper around 472 or 473, he explains:

> It was Mamertus our father in God and bishop who first designed, arranged, and introduced the ceremonial of these prayers, setting a precedent we should all revere, and making an experiment which has proved of the utmost value.

He goes on to note that though public prayers (litanies) of this sort were in practice before this time, especially to ask for rain or good weather, "they were lukewarm, irregular, perfunctory, and their fervour was destroyed by frequent interruption for refreshment." He then tells him that Mamertus systematized these litanic prayers by associating specific observances such as fasting with them:

> But in the Rogations which our holy father has instituted and conferred upon us, we fast, we pray with tears, we chant the psalms. To such a feast, where penitential sighs are heard from all the congregation, where heads are humbly bowed, and forms fall prostrate, I invite you;

Instead of a time of banqueting, as these litanies were observed before, Sidonius explains that Mamertus made them into a "festival of tears," in which people fasted, prayed, recited psalms, and prostrated themselves to ask God for protection (2:67-68).

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[32] These letters are compiled in The Letters of Sidonius, trans. O. M. Dalton, 2 vols. (NY: Oxford University Press, 1915). Citations are by volume and page numbers, and are noted in my text.

Later, in a letter to Bishop Mamertus written in 474, Sidonius describes that bishop's role in founding the Rogation Days and the condition of Vienne after an earthquake and subsequent fire, and then eloquently restates many of the observances he mentioned to Aper, including that of fasting:

> You therefore first enjoined a fast upon a few members of our sacred order, denouncing gross offences, announcing punishment, promising relief. You made it clear that if the penalty of sin was nigh, so also was the pardon; you proclaimed that by frequent prayer the menace of coming desolation might be removed. You taught that it was by water of tears rather than water of rivers that the obstinate and raging fire could best be extinguished, and by firm faith the threatening shock of earthquake stayed. (2:96)

A canon law from the Council of Mainz in 813 emphasized the penitential nature of Rogationtide and took Sidonius' "festival of tears" one step further. Referring to earlier practices of the Rogation Days in words similar to those of Sidonius, Canon Law 33 describes how Christians were to observe these days:

> It hath seemed good to us that the greater litany be observed by all Christians on three days, as we find in our reading to have been done, and as our holy fathers instituted, not on horseback, nor in costly garments, but with bare feet, and in sackcloth and ashes, unless sickness shall hinder.[33]

Maximus' version of the Jonah story, then, emphasizes two traditional Rogationtide observances, fasting and wearing

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[33] DCA, s.v. "Rogation Days."

sackcloth and ashes as a means of asking (rogare) God for protection from some danger.

Alan of Farfa also compiled an important Latin homiliary from which the Anglo-Saxon homilists appropriated materials. This homiliary is actually a conflation of a sixth-century homiliary of St. Peter's in Rome with one compiled by Caesarius of Arles (c. 469-542). Like Paul the Deacon's text, this homiliary is arranged according to the liturgical year.[34] Several homiletic texts are listed for the Major Litany in the second part of this manual: Maximus' Homily 90, which I described above, and Caesarius of Arles' Sermons 144, 148, and 208.[35] The works of Caesarius, who was the archbishop of Arles from 502 until his death,[36] considerably influenced Old English homiletic literature, according to Joseph B. Trahern, Jr. The full extent of Caesarius' influence is not known yet, as recent studies tend to focus on individual examples taken out of context and as earlier studies "cited certain anonymous Latin sermons which have been only later identified as the work of

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[34] Gatch, Preaching, 28.

[35] Grégoire, Homéliaires, 52.

[36] New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967 ed., s.v. "St. Caesarius of Arles."

Caesarius."[37] Nevertheless, the Old English Rogationtide homilists borrowed passages, ideas, and observances from all three of these homilies.

Caesarius did not write Sermon 144 specifically for Rogationtide, as it primarily concerns a discussion of repentance; however, he does, like Maximus, use the story of Jonah and the people of Ninive to emphasize several observances for this occasion.[38] Caesarius begins with an explication of Matthew 4:17 ("paenitentiam agite adpropinquavit enim regnum caelorum"[39]), where he exhorts his listeners to be aware that Christ is the judge of good and evil, so they should confess their sins and repent before the Last Judgment. No one, he continues, has perished who repented and asked God for His forgiveness. As an example of repentance, he cites the story of Jonah,

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[37] Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., "Caesarius of Arles and Old English Literature: Some Contributions and a Recapitulation," Anglo-Saxon England 5(1976): 105-119, 105. In addition to a discussion of Caesarius' influence on five Old English texts, Trahern furnishes an extensive list of other vernacular texts influenced by Caesarius and includes a bibliography on scholarship concerning this topic.

[38] The texts I use for Caesarius of Arle's sermons are Saint Caesarius of Arles: Sermons, trans. Mary Magdeleine Mueller, vols. 2 (81-186) and 3 (187-238), vols. 47 and 66 of The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1973). Citations are by sermon and page numbers, and are noted in my text.

[39] "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

concluding that humility and repentance saved the city of Ninive. Caesarius then turns to the importance of fasting, again citing the lesson of Jonah. Everyone in the city fasted, including the beasts. Fasting was a way for these people to cry out their guilt to God; in the same way, he explains, his listeners should fear God and accept His correction, crying out so that they may not be found guilty (144:300-03). Caesarius uses this scriptural story to emphasize the importance of fasting, repentance, confession, humility, and fear as ways in which to ask God for forgiveness now and for protection at the Last Judgment.

Sermon 148 concerns the subject of judging others, and, like Sermon 144, was not written specifically for Rogationtide. Caesarius begins his sermon with an explication of Matthew 7:1-2 ("Nolite iudicare ut non iudicemini in quo enim iudicio indicaveritis iudicabimini"[40]). In his sermon, he tries to resolve a dichotomy between this gospel passage, which says not to judge others, with another gospel verse, John 7:24, which says that Christians should judge others ("nolite iudicare secundum faciem sed iustum iudicium iudicate"[41]). He

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[40] "Judge not, that you may not be judged. For with what judgment you judge, you shall be judged."

[41] "Judge not according to the appearance, but judge just judgment."

resolves this dichotomy by explaining that somethings can be reasonably judged while others cannot be judged without sin. He then describes in detail how and who his listeners can judge. It is more important, he says, that they first judge themselves, which is an explication of Matthew 7:3 ("Quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui et trabem in oculo tuo non vides"[42]). He then summarizes the sermon and tells his listeners that they should ask for God's help in their judgments (148:315-19). Though this Latin sermon seems to have nothing to do with Rogationtide, the motif of judgment, particularly that of God's Judgment, was to become a common Rogationtide homiletic topos in late Anglo-Saxon England.[43]

Caesarius's Sermon 208 was written for Rogationtide and, as such, makes specific references to that occasion. He begins by explaining that Rogationtide is a solemn time of humility and repentance, in which his listeners should not practice excessive laughter or careless mirth. He goes on to exhort them to be solicitous now in order to be free of anxiety later when they are in heaven. They must suffer briefly in this world, he explains, so that they will reach eternal joy in heaven. Caesarius then lists a series of observances they should follow at Rogationtide, some of

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[42] "And why seest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye; and seest not the beam that is in thy own eye?"

[43] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, xxiv.

which echo those mentioned in Sidonius' letter to Aper. These observances include asking God for forgiveness of their sins, imploring God's mercy with loud cries and groans, praying continuously, giving abundant alms, putting an end to idle gossip, praying and singing psalms as much as possible, not concealing the observance of peace with neighbors, staying in the Church assembly, and fasting. All of these observances, he concludes, are ways in which to ask for God's mercy (208:87-89).

Though not in either Paul the Deacon's or Alan of Farfa's homiliaries, another sermon written by Caesarius for Rogationtide also influenced the vernacular Anglo-Saxon homilists writing for that occasion. Sermon 207, entitled De letania, was available to the Anglo-Saxons in three forms: in a Carolingian homiliary,[44] in the Homiliary of Toledo,[45] and in a corpus of homilies written by Augustine.[46] Caesarius begins by utilizing Paul's description of the spiritual armor of Christians (Ephesians

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[44] Jean-Paul Bouhot, "Un sermonnaire carolingien," Revue d'histoire des textes 4(1974): 181-223, 201. This homily appears as item number 77, is entitled De letania maiore, and is ascribed to Augustine.

[45] Grégoire, Homéliaires, 170.

[46] Bazire and Cross mention that Caesarius' sermons commonly appear under the name of Augustine and were available to the Anglo-Saxon homilists. See, Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 9.

6:13-17) to explain ways that his listeners can protect themselves from the devil. He reminds them that God will help them with His grace, which, he says, they can receive during these Rogation Days if they continually fast, observe vigils, and pray. Caesarius exhorts them to stay in the assembly of the Church, especially during the Rogation Days, so that God will not dishonor and punish them. He also lists a number of specific things that they are not to do on Rogationtide, such as gamble, engage in idle gossip, be bled, and accept a potion.[47] They should, however, eat small meals, read the Scriptures, sing psalms, pray, and perform good deeds. He ends the sermon by encouraging them to follow these observances and his advice if they want God to judge them well at the last days (207:82-87).

The Latin Rogationtide tradition, then, consists of a small group of texts dating from the late fifth to the middle ninth centuries. This tradition, passed on to England through lectionaries and homiliaries,[48] greatly

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[47] These observances, which are not found elsewhere in this Latin tradition, were probably regional problems that Caesarius addressed.

[48] Though lectionaries and homiliaries are the two main forms of anthologies on which the Anglo-Saxon homilists depended, Gatch notes that the work of encyclopedists, such as Isidore of Seville and Rabanus Maurus, and a florilegium, which was "a commonplace book of striking passages on one topic or many collected over a period of time" by one or more clerics, also contained usable Latin sources. I do not discuss either of these forms in this chapter, however, be-

influenced the later Anglo-Saxon Rogationtide homilists, as translations of the Latin sources appear throughout the vernacular corpus. It is indeed interesting that such a small body of Latin literature had such a large impact on these homilies. This impact, as I will suggest later, is perhaps indicative of the important function that Rogationtide played in the English Church.

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cause, as far as I can tell, they were not used in the Old English Rogationtide homilies. See, Gatch, Preaching, 5.

CHAPTER 3

THE OLD ENGLISH ROGATIONTIDE TRADITION

In the last chapter, I analyzed the Latin Rogationtide texts dating from the late fifth to the middle ninth centuries that influenced the Anglo-Saxon homilists. This Latin tradition, transmitted to England through lectionaries and homiliaries, consisted of homilies containing exegetical descriptions of New Testament lessons (Luke 11:6-13 and James 5:16-20) and of sermons with general addresses based on Old Testament passages (III Kings 16-18 and Jonas 3).[1] All of these scriptural lessons were prescribed for Rogationtide because of their association with asking (rogare). In addition, the Latin writers used these lessons, along with exempla on the founding of Rogationtide, to emphasize particular observances, such as fasting, wearing sackcloth and ashes, almsgiving, and judging, which

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[1] Gatch defines a homily as "an exegetical address on a passage of Scripture" and a sermon as "a general address on a religious theme." Milton Gatch, "The Achievement of Ælfric and His Colleagues in European Perspective," The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds, eds. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1978): 43-73, 45.

they thought appropriate for this penitential occasion. Translations and transcriptions of these Latin texts appear throughout the Old English Rogationtide corpus, indicating that this Latin tradition extensively influenced these later vernacular homilies.

The Old English Rogationtide corpus consists of twenty-four homilies, contained in eight collections: the Vercelli Book, Ælfric's Catholic Homilies and Lives of Saints, and five anonymous homiletic manuscripts.[2] In the context of the kinds of sources the Anglo-Saxon homilists used and the manner in which they translated them, I can divide this corpus into three chronological and authoritative categories: (1) homilies that primarily contain literal translations of Latin sources (the Vercelli Book, dating, according to D.G. Scragg, from around the late ninth to late tenth centuries[3]); (2) homilies with both literal and interpretive translations of Latin sources (the homilies of Ælfric, from the late tenth century[4]); and (3) homilies

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[2] Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies, eds. Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), xvii-xx.

[3] The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts, ed. D.G. Scragg, E.E.T. S. o.s. 300 (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), xxxviii-xxxix.

[4] Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection: Being Twenty-One Homilies of his Middle and Later Career for the Most Part Not Previously Edited with some Shorter Pieces Mainly Passages Added to the Second and Third Series, ed.

that primarily consist of interpretive translations of vernacular sources (the five anonymous manuscripts, dating from the eleventh to the early twelfth centuries[5]). This categorization allows me to examine this corpus from two perspectives: translational, from which I can see how the homilists adapted the Latin sources to add new characteristics to their homilies, and diachronic, from which I can see how these new characteristics developed over time, creating a distinctive vernacular Rogationtide corpus.

The Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII) contains six Rogationtide texts: Homilies 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, and 21. This manuscript, according to Scragg, is "the earliest extant collection of homiletic texts in English." Its blend of twenty-three anonymous homilies and six poems (Andreas, Fates of the Apostles, Soul and Body 1, Homiletic Fragment 1, Dream of the Rood, and Elene) makes it "one of the most important vernacular books to survive from the pre-Conquest period."[6] Homilies 11, 12, and 13 contain linking rubrics and internal cross-references that indicate

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John C. Pope, vol. 1, E.E.T.S. No. 259 (NY: Oxford University Press, 1967), 146-50.

[5] Neil R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 31, 51, 95, 99, and 391.

[6] Scragg, Vercelli, xix-xx, xxxviii. Citations for these homilies are by line numbers and are noted in my text. All Old English translations in this chapter are my own.

they probably were composed as a set.[7] Even so, their diverse sources indicates that three different homilists wrote them, albeit they probably were familiar with each other. Though Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross believe that Homilies 19 and 20 also comprise a set composed for this liturgical occasion, as they contain similar references to observances and to lections,[8] I would concur with Scragg that this set also should include Homily 21, as all three homilists appropriated Rogationtide items from a single source, the Latin homiliary of St. Père de Chartes (Cambridge, Pembroke College MS. 25).[9]

Homily 11, entitled spel to forman gangdæge, primarily consists of a series of juxtaposed observances that the homilist associates with Rogationtide. After an

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[7] Scragg, Vercelli, xxxix-xl.

[8] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, xviii-xix. Szarmach also notes that these homilies are paired similarly in two other manuscripts, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (CCCC), MS. 162 and CCCC MS. 303. In all three cases, the version of Homily 19 appears before that of Homily 20. In addition, their titles support this pairing: CCCC 162--Feria .iii. in Letania maiore and In tertia feria in letania maiore, respectively; and CCCC 303--Sermo in letania maiore and Alius sermo feria .III., respectively. See, Paul E. Szarmach, "Vercelli Homily XX," Medieval Studies 35(1973): 1-26, 4-5.

[9] Scragg, Vercelli, 310-11. Earlier in his edition, Scragg notes that he believes that these three homilies were written by the same person (xl). Szarmach also infers this relationship by noting that the closing lines of all three homilies are similar. Paul E. Szarmach, "Homily XX," Mediaevel Studies 35(1973): 1-26, 6.

introductory salutation, in which he says that Saint Peter founded this occasion of fasting and processions because of heathen heresies (1-8),[10] the homilist notes that the Lord gave the people "gastlice blacernas" to illuminate this heresy. These spiritual lamps are various Church officials, whose teachings from the gospels they should hear and obey (9-20). He then exhorts them to persevere in good works in this miserable world in order to deserve their true, eternal home in heaven (62). The homilist then turns to another metaphor, that of the "gastlice cypemen," to warn them that they must trade their worldly goods for those which are spiritual because the former are transitory while the latter are eternal (63-86). He ends by providing specific, localized examples of misery in the world--Viking invasions and Church corruption--that underscore the necessity of following the observances that the homilist prescribed (86-107).

Most of this homily is a modified translation of Caesarius' Sermo 215: De natale Sancti Felicis. Even though

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[10] This reference to St. Peter as the founder of Rogationtide is found only in this homily and in Vercelli Homily 12. More commonly, as I explained in the previous chapter, Mamertus is ascribed to be the founder, though St. Martin of Léon (d. 1203) also mentions Gregory the Great, Elijah, and Pope Liberius as its original founders in one of his sermons. See, Patrologiæ Latina: Cursus Completus, ed. J.P. Migne, vol 208 (Paris: Excudebat Sirou, 1844-1875), 1009-80. Future citations to this edition will be by book (PL), volume, and page number(s), and will be cited in my text.

the title of this sermon denotes that it is in honor of St. Felix, it actually honors St. Honoratus. The basic assumption, Rudolph Willard posits, is that "the user of this sermon would naturally make the appropriate adjustments of saint to be venerated."[11] In other words, this sermon can be adapted as needed (guando volueus), which the Vercelli homilist does in order to relate it to Rogationtide. He refashions Caesarius' "spiritales lucernas" metaphor by elaborating the number of Church officials, adding bishops, mass-priests, teachers, and the many churches of God (10-17). As a result, he emphasizes the teaching vocation of the Church.[12] This metaphor, as

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[11] Rudolph Willard, "Vercelli Homily XI and its Sources," Speculum 24(1949): 76-87, 79. Other Old English scholars who have written on the influence of Caesarius of Arles on the Vercelli Book include James E. Cross, "'The Dry Bones Speak': A Theme in Some Old English Homilies," Journal of English and Germanic Philology 56(1957): 434-39; Paul E. Szarmach, "Caesarius of Arles and the Vercelli Homilies," Traditio 26(1970): 315-23; Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., "Caesarius of Arles and Old English literature: Some Contributions and a Recapitulation," Anglo-Saxon England 5(1976): 105-19, 109-11, 116-17; and R. P. Wulcker, "Uber das Vercellibuch," Anglia 5(1882): 464-65.

[12] I will discuss this metaphor of the lamps in detail in Chapter 5. As Willard notes, Caesarius took this metaphoric section from some unidentified source, as its style of writing differs remarkably from his own. Caesarius must have liked this metaphor because he also used it in his Sermon 214. See, Willard, "Vercelli XI," 78. For a detailed description of the use of light metaphors in this and other Old English homilies, see Hildegard Tristram, "Die Leohtfæt-Metaphor in den altenglischen anonymen Bittagspredigten," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 75(1974): 229-49.

well as that of the spiritual merchants, bridge the secular and spiritual worlds in much the same way as Rogationtide itself, as this occasion is a time of solemn supplication during which the people ask God (the spiritual world) for protection from some natural disaster, such as a crop blight or an earthquake (the secular world). Further, the homilist mistranslates his own transcriptions of Latin scriptural passages in order to relate his homily to Rogationtide. In lines 21-24, he inserts an abridged transcription of two verses on the necessity of continual perseverance: "Non qui ceperit, sed qui perseuerauerit usque in finem saluus erit" (Matthew 10:22 and 24: 13).[13] Then, he mistranslates his quotation, adding "gode dæde" and "on godum dædum," thus changing Matthew's meaning from a general exhortation to persevere during persecution and affliction to a more specific call to persevere in good deeds during those times,

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[13] "Not a person who begins, but one who perseveres to the end shall be saved." It is quite interesting that the first part of this quotation does not appear in the Vulgate versions: "et eritis odio omnibus propter nomen meum qui autem perseveraverit in finem hic salvus erit" (Matthew 10:22) and "qui autem permanserit usque in finem hic salvus erit" (Matthew 24:13). This addition makes it easy for the homilist to mistranslate his source, indicating that he may have been the one who transcribed the Latin Scriptures. My Latin scriptural text is the Biblia Sacra: Iuxta vulgatam versionem (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969). Citations are by book, chapter, and verse numbers, and are noted in my text. English translations are from The Holy Bible: Translated from the Latin Vulgate, rev. ed. Douay Rheims Version (Rockford, IL: Tan Books and Publishers, Inc., 1989). Citations are the same as above, and are noted in my footnotes.

a common Rogationtide characteristic by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Homily 12, entitled spel to oðrum gangdæge, for the second Rogation Day, does not have any known source.[14] Its similar rubrics and internal cross-references, however, link it to the previous homily even if it lacks an affinity in sources.[15] The homilist begins by noting the previous day's homily and description of observances, and by elaborating its reference to pagan idolatry, pointing out that these pagans offered gifts, in the form of the interest of their trade and all their possessions, to their gods (1-11).

He then states as the previous homilist did that St. Peter founded Rogationtide and its observances because of this pagan practice (12-18). I would argue that this unique reference to Peter as the founder of Rogationtide in both Vercelli Homilies 11 and 12 alludes to the influence of the New Testament epistle of II Peter on these texts, as well as on Homily 13. That is, all of the key themes in this epistle, such as mutability, contrition, the fear of God, and the importance of good deeds, are found in toto in these

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[14] Scragg, Vercelli, 227; and Szarmach, Vercelli, 23.

[15] Scragg warns in a note, however, that the rubrics on all three of these homilies may have been added later. See, Scragg, Vercelli, xxxixn.

Rogationtide homilies. This common influence, like the linking rubrics and the internal cross-references, I believe, helps to support Scragg's contention that all three of these homilies were composed as a set.[16]

After prescribing a number of observances that he drew from the Latin tradition (13-34), the homilist tells his listeners that if they follow these observances, the saints will intercede on their behalf with God in heaven, so that He will protect them (37-38). At this point, the homilist turns to a scriptural verse (Matthew 18:20) to explain that the people can ask for God's presence by gathering in His name (43-50). He warns them, however, that they should fear this presence, and a timor domini exposition consumes the remainder of the homily. He explains that the fear of God

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[16] The germ for this idea that the reference to St. Peter as the founder of Rogationtide may actually allude to Peter's epistle came to me when I read James Cross' article "A Sermo de Misericordia in Old English Prose," Anglia 108 (1990): 429-40. Cross notes that at one point the writer of the vernacular prose version of this Latin sermon assigns James as the speaker of a warning to rich people when Christ was the actual speaker. He argues that the Epistle of James contains various comments on the rich which the sermon echoes, indicating the epistle's influence on the text. Cross speculates the reason for this "false assignation" when he says that "a preacher to an unlearned audience may add power to his warnings by citing a Scriptural name, which was given in the Latin sermo that he read" (437). It is clearly beyond the scope of this work to delve into the literacy level of the audience of these Rogationtide homilies; however, empowerment touches upon the idea of the homilists controlling the faith of their audience, a point which I will return to in the following chapter of this dissertation.

will lead them to wisdom, as through it they will be able to exchange worldly goods for spiritual goods (50-71). This idea of exchange is similar to the previous homilist's exhortation to his listeners to be spiritual merchants, and it functions similarly as a bridge between the secular and spiritual worlds.

Though the liturgical affinity to Rogationtide is similar in Homilies 11 and 12, as they both echo Latin observances, the homilist for the latter text distinctively diverges from this tradition. He implies that fear of a spiritual force (God), rather than some natural disaster, functions as a motive for asking God for protection. This shift from a secular motive to a spiritual one also is indicative of the developing Old English Rogationtide tradition, as the spiritual motive is one of the most distinguishing features of the later homilies of this corpus.

Vercelli Homily 13, entitled spel to priddan gangdæge, is incomplete in the manuscript, as one folio is missing from the middle, leaving an introduction in the first half and a discursive exemplum in the second. The introduction consists of references to various observances that the homilist's listeners should follow during Rogationtide (1-3), observances which are similar to those described in the previous homilies. As in Homily 11, this homilist

emphasizes the observance of perseverance in good deeds during these days by adding "in godum dædum" to his Old English translation of his Latin scriptural transcription of Matthew 24:13 (3-9). Further, in lines 9-17, just before the missing folio, he stresses the necessity of the people to cleanse themselves of the sins they committed over the last forty days, that is, since Easter. This call to penance echoes the somber Rogationtide season and follows the Latin tradition.[17]

The homily continues with a discourse between bones in a grave and a man. The bones warn the man that worldly sins lead to destruction, as he can see by their own plight (19-32). The source for this discourse is Caesarius of Arles' Sermon 31, De elemosinis, which the homilist follows closely.[18] He then leaves his source to tell his listeners to remember that death is unexpected, so they must unceasingly prepare themselves, implying the importance of following the observances mentioned earlier (good deeds and

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[17] For a general discussion of penance in Anglo-Saxon England, see Allen J. Frantzen, The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983).

[18] Szarmach, Vercelli, 27; and James Cross, "The Dry Bones Speak - A Theme in Some Old English Homilies," Journal of English and Germanic Philology 56(1957): 434-39, 435. Cross notes that Vercelli Homily 13, Bodleian MS. 343, and Blickling Homily 10 contain "patchworks of borrowings" which echo Caesarius' sermon on the necessity of preparation.

penance) if they do not want to suffer the same fate as the dry bones (34-40).[19] The homilist closes his homily with a brief referral to the Last Days, in which God determines who has earned a place in heaven or hell (40-47). This reference to God's Judgment not only echoes Caesarius' Sermon 148 (PL 39: 1871-73) concerning judging others, but it also diverges from the Latin tradition, as the homilist uses God's Last Judgment as a Rogationtide motive, a motive that appears throughout the later vernacular homilies written for this occasion.

In the next compilation of Vercelli Rogationtide homilies, Homily 19 does not have a title, but three extant variant texts contain rubrics attributing this homily to that occasion.[20] The majority of this homily is a close, but not slavish translation of various Latin Rogationtide texts. It opens with a discussion about God's triune nature

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[19] I should mention that this dry bones exemplum also appears in two Old English poems: "Soul and Body I" in the Vercelli Book and "Soul and Body II" in the Exeter Book (Codex Exoniensis). The most recent editions of these poems are in The Vercelli Book, ed. George Philip Krapp, vol. 2 of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records: A Collective Edition (NY: Columbia University Press, 1932), 54-59, 126-29; and in The Exeter Book, eds. George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, vol. 3 of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records: A Collective Edition (NY: Columbia University Press, 1936), 174-78, 317-18.

[20] Szarmach, Vercelli, 69. The variant texts and their titles are CCCC 162, Feria .ii. in letania maiore; CCCC 303, Sermo in letania maiore; and Cotton Cleopatra B.xiii, Dominica ante rogationum.

(1-11) that the homilist borrowed from the first paragraph of Item 1 of the St. Père homiliary, on the Trinity.[21] This introduction is unique to the Rogationtide corpus; however, in the context of the following accounts of the creation of the world, the fall of Lucifer and his angels, and the creation and fall of Adam and Eve (12-48), this exordium has a precedent in Genesis and John's gospel, as well as in the catechetical narratio.[22] The sources for these creation accounts are not in the St. Père homiliary, but, as Scragg suggests, are in "a number of Latin and vernacular accounts of Christian cosmology and early history."[23]

After a general exhortation to turn from evil and obey God (49-57), which echoes Caesarius of Arles' Rogationtide Sermon 207, De letania,[24] the homilist introduces the three

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[21] Scragg, Vercelli, 311.

[22] See Rosemary Woolf, "Doctrinal Influences on the Dream of the Rood," Medium Ævum 27(1958): 137-53, 139-40, for a discussion on the connection between the nature of the Trinity and the description of creation. Also, see Virginia Day, "The Influence of the Catechetical Narratio on Old English and Some Other Medieval Literature," Anglo-Saxon England 3(1974): 51-61, 56-57, for a discussion on the purpose of this connection.

[23] Scragg, Vercelli, 311. Several scholars posit a number of sources for these accounts; see, Virginia Day, "Influence," 51-61; and Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 7-9.

[24] Szarmach, Vercelli, 69. Also, see Szarmach, "Caesarius," 320-21.

Rogation Days as times of repentance before Ascension Day, lists a number of traditional observances, and exhorts the people to ask for God's mercy to protect themselves from the devil (58-103). He then turns to two familiar Rogationtide lessons on the importance of fasting and prayer (105-64): the Old Testament story of Jonah, and the story of Mamertus founding Rogationtide. Both of these exempla were drawn from item 36 of the St. Père homiliary, though they also are contained in the Latin Rogationtide sermons found in Alan of Farfa's and Paul the Deacon's homiliaries.[25]

The Old English renderings of these stories, however, are not literal translations of their Latin sources. In the Jonah story, the homilist mentions that the Ninivite fast lasted three days (130) instead of forty as depicted in the Vulgate Bible (Jonas 3:4). The ultimate source for this three-day fast version is the Septuagint/Old Latin Jonas 3:4, which appears in Caesarius' Sermon 144 and in Pseudo-Chrysostom's Adhuc triduum, as well as in Pseudo-Wulfstan's Homily 36 and in Vercelli Homily 3. The Vercelli Homily 19 version also contains a reference to a divine fiery ball over the city of Ninive (131-33) that is not found in any other version of this lesson. The homilist probably is making a connection between this story and and the

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[25] Scragg, Vercelli, 311.

subsequent one of Mamertus founding Rogationtide, several variant texts of which refer to a fiery ball destroying parts of the city of Vienne.[26] The Vercelli version of the Mamertus story also differs in details from its Latin sources. Instead of earthquakes, wild animals, and divine fires destroying the city, this version refers to a plague besetting Vienne (151-56). It is possible that the Vercelli homilist confused the details of his story with that of Gregory founding Rogationtide due to a pestilence caused by the flooding of the Tiber River in Rome, as described in Pseudo-Bede's Sermon 97 (De majore litania), the Old English Martyrology, Ado's martyrology, and the York Martyrology, indicating that this homilist may have been relying on his memory for this story rather than on some written text.[27]

Vercelli Homily 20 is untitled; however, it has two extant variant texts with rubrics specifying they are Rogationtide homilies.[28] The central part of this homily

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[26] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 10. For a detailed description of the differences between the Latin and Old English renderings of the Jonas story, see Paul E. Szarmach, "Three Versions of the Jonah Story: An Investigation of Narrative Technique in Old English Homilies," Anglo-Saxon England 1(1972): 183-92.

[27] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 10-11. I describe the differences between the Latin and Old English renderings of this story in my next chapter.

[28] Szarmach, Vercelli, 77. These variant texts and their titles are CCCC 162, In tertia feria in letania maiore; and CCCC 303, Alius sermo feria, .III. in rogationibus.

consists of a close translation of St. Pére's item 93, which is an abbreviation of Alcuin's tract De virtutibus et vitiis liber on the eight deadly sins. The introduction and conclusion of this homily do not have any direct sources, though they were influenced by traditional Latin Rogationtide ideas.[29]

The introduction, however, does contain some unusual characteristics, exhibiting signs of an evolving vernacular Rogationtide corpus. The incipit salutation (1-5), with its Rogationtide observances, echoes a phrase in Caesarius' Sermon 207, De letania, and is verbally similar to the beginning of Vercelli Homily 11. This verbal similarity may indicate that the homilist was relying upon a vernacular source rather than a Latin one,[30] which was an uncommon practice at this time. In the following lines (5-15), the homilist warns his audience against idle speech in church during these three days, a cross-reference and an elaboration of a similar anathema found in Homily 19. This warning, which also echoes Caesarius' sermon, is generic, in that it is not limited to the Rogationtide season; however, the homilist makes this connection by juxtaposing it with a

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Szarmach notes that the Vercelli homily is missing one folio, but CCCC 162 contains that missing folio.

[29] Scragg, Vercelli, 329-30.

[30] Scragg, Vercelli, 329.

Rogationtide lection, the story of Elias and the drought from James 5:16-20, used as an example of God's power to punish and protect (16-22).[31] The homilist emphasizes this connection directly afterwards when, near the end of the introduction, he presents a list of vices that the listeners should avoid, lest God take away their "fruits of the earth" (22-28), a clear reference to the agricultural Rogationtide occasion. He also associates new observances with Rogationtide. Following this commercial reference is a brief exposition on tithing one-tenth of each of the listeners' goods to God and giving portions of the remainder to the poor in the form of alms during this time (28-34). This last section is a close translation of item 52 of the St. Pére homiliary.[32]

Vercelli Homily 21 is untitled and does not have any known variant texts.[33] Even though this homily consists to a great extent of short segments of other works, it is ordered around the eschatological topos of Doomsday, which was to become the principal motive for Rogationtide in the later vernacular homilies.[34] In the first half of this

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[31] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 27-28.

[32] Scragg, Vercelli, 330.

[33] Szarmach, Vercelli, 83.

[34] Scragg, Vercelli, 347.

homily (1-125), based almost solely on items from the St. Pére homiliary, the homilist begins with an introductory salutation, exhorting the people to love God (1-9), after which he warns them about the grim hell-tortures at the Last Day (10-28). He abruptly inserts several observances for these days and links them to Rogationtide with a discussion about repentance and about asking God for his mercy (29-47). One part of this section (32-43) does not have any known source and may be freely written, though there are linguistic similarities with the previous two homilies.[35] After describing the ways of God (48-56) and the twelve strengths of the soul (57-84), the homilist reminds them (87-115) of the sacrifice of Christ, instructing them, using mercantile terms, to pay requital for this sacrifice by exchanging their good works for the goods he has given them. He ends this section with an exposition on Doomsday, on the necessity of atonement, and on good works (116-25).

While the homilist, in the first half of this homily, relied almost solely on a Latin source, an examination of its second half reveals that he also borrowed from an Old English prose and poetic tradition, which was a quite unusual practice for this time. In lines 128-55, he describes the approaching Last Day and the necessity of

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[35] Scragg, Vercelli, 348.

preparation. Within this section (128-41) we see many alliterative phrases, suggesting that it may have been appropriated from some unknown Old English poem.[36] The following lines (149-55) contain examples of alliterating poetic prose and is an almost literal translation of the Old English poem An Exhortation to Christian Living.[37] The homilist concludes his homily with a vivid description of Doomsday (158-210), including an alliterating poetic prose section (188-202), a repeated exhortation to do good works (219-39), and a description of heaven (239-57). Most of this concluding section was appropriated from Vercelli Homily 2 and contains a translation that is much more faithful than any of the later variants of that homily, suggesting that these two Vercelli homilies had a common exemplar.[38]

Even though the Vercelli Rogationtide homilists relied primarily on Latin sources, their homilies are not slavish translations. Indeed, the homilists used various methods of

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[36] Scragg, Vercelli, 348; and Leslie Whitbread, "'Wulfstan' Homilies XXIX, XXX, XXXI and Some Related Texts," Anglia 81(1963): 347-64, 355.

[37] Scragg, Vercelli, 348-50; Angus McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," Proceedings of the British Academy 34(1949): 109-42; and Cambridge Pembroke College MS. 25: A Carolingian Sermonary used by Anglo-Saxon Preachers, ed. James E. Cross (London: King's College London, 1987), 149-50.

[38] Scragg, Vercelli, 348-49.

appropriating these sources, such as elaboration, selective translation, and mistranslation, adding new observances and echoing others. They also appropriated Latin sources other than those traditionally ascribed to Rogationtide so as to change the motive from a natural disaster to a spiritual concern for the afterlife. Finally, these homilists also began to diverge from the authority of the Latin sources, turning to those written in the vernacular. This change, however, goes beyond the strict appropriation of these sources, as the homilists employed the Old English poetic practice of alliteration to distinctively color their prose language. What we are seeing, then, are examples of an emerging vernacular Rogationtide corpus, one that is evolving beyond its Latin roots.

Ælfric (c. 955-1020), the Benedictine abbot of Eynsham, wrote nine Old English homilies for Rogationtide: eight in his Catholic Homilies (three in his First Series and five in his Second), and one in his Lives of Saints.[39] It seems,

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[39] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, xvii-xviii. My texts for the Catholic Homilies are Benjamin Thorpe, ed., The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric: In the Original Anglo-Saxon, with an English Version, 2 vols (London: Richard and John E. Taylor, 1971); and Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text, ed. Malcolm Godden, E.E.T.S. o.s. 5 (NY: Oxford University Press, 1979). Citations for both of these editions are by series and page numbers, and are noted in my text. My text for Lives is Walter W. Skeat, ed., Ælfric's Lives of Saints, Being a Set of Sermons on Saints' Days Formerly Observed by the English Church,

however, that only one of these homilies, the first one from his First Series, addresses Rogationtide subjects and that the remainder contain expositions and exegetical discussions unrelated to this occasion. The reason he only wrote one homily about Rogationtide is clear when we look at his general scheme of writing. Ælfric intended his homilies to cover all the main liturgical occasions of catholic history, keeping Christ's redemption at its center. With such a large scheme in mind, as Milton McC. Gatch notes, "Ælfric made some effort not to discuss the same subject extensively more than once, and he referred his readers, where necessary, to the work in which related subjects had already been discussed."[40]

Ælfric's homily for the first Rogation Day, entitled In letania maiore (1:244-59), closely relies on traditional Latin sources for that liturgical occasion. After his introductory salutation that identifies these days as the "Letaniae" and that exhorts the people to pray for earthly abundance, health, peace, and forgiveness, Ælfric describes the founding of Rogationtide by Mamertus (1:244-45) and the Jonas story (1:244-47). He then presents a scriptural

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vol. 1 of 2, EETS o.s. 94 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890). Citations are by page number and are noted in my text.

[40] Gatch, Preaching, 12-13, 15.

exegesis on the Gospel lection for Rogationtide (Luke 11:5-13). After noting St. Augustine's figural interpretation of this lesson, he explains the symbolism of each verse and relates it to the morals of this homily: the evil of transitory goods and the relationship between poor and rich people (1:246-59).

Though Ælfric closely translated the Latin Rogationtide tradition in this homily, his treatment of sources is quite different in the other eight he wrote for this occasion. Ælfric relied primarily on the homiliary of Paul the Deacon[41] and on some vernacular sources.[42] He seldom translated these texts literally, choosing instead, as he notes in his Preface, to translate their sense (1:1).[43] His translations of the Scriptures, however, were verbatim.[44] This concern for scriptural accuracy emphasizes Ælfric's chief goal: to educate the clergy.

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[41] Cyril L. Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary," Traditio 15(1959): 163-204, 180.

[42] For a general discussion of Ælfric's use of vernacular and Latin sources, see Malcolm Godden, "Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition," The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds, eds. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1978), 99-117.

[43] "Nec ubique translulimus verbus ex verbo, sed sensum ex sensu, cavendo tamen diligentissime deceptivos errores, ne inveniremur aliqua hæresi seducti seu fallacia fuscati."

[44] Pope Homilies of Ælfric, 150.

Gatch notes that this educational purpose was important to Ælfric, and to that end, he desired "that the doctrine transmitted in his lucid English prose should be absolutely orthodox and firmly based in the theological tradition."[45]

When we examine the seven remaining Rogationtide homilies in the context of the sources Ælfric used and of how he used them, we can construct three categories: (1) a literal translation of Latin sources, (2) a traditional exegesis of Church doctrine and the Scriptures, and (3) an original discourse of general moral instructions. Three homilies from the Second Series fit into the first category, as Ælfric almost verbatim translated hagiographic stories from the Latin version of Bede's History,[46] omitting and expanding little from this source.[47] All three of these homilies also function as educational exempla for his listeners. In the first homily, Item in letania maiore. Feria tertia (2:332-349), Ælfric begins by rejecting the

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[45] Gatch, Preaching, 13-14.

[46] Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, eds. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969). Citations are by book, chapter, and page, and are noted in my text.

[47] James Hurt, Ælfric, Twayne's English Authors Series (NY: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972), 55. Godden explains that even though Ælfric knew the Old English version of Bede's History, as he drew from it for his homily on St. Gregory, he used the Latin version throughout the Catholic Homilies. See, Godden, "Ælfric and the Vernacular," 103.

Vision of Paul as a false composition, substituting Furseus' vision of heaven and hell from Bede's History (3.19:171-75). The second homily, entitled Alia uisio (2:348-57), concerns Dryhthelm's vision of heaven and of hell, also found in Bede's History (5.12:288-94). Both of these stories describe visits to the underworld, which, according to James Hurt, was a popular literary form in the Middle Ages. Also, they consist of shared characteristics: "the presence of a heavenly guide, a fiery vision, and comments on the transformed later life of the visionary."[48] The third homily, Hortatorius sermo de efficacia scae missae (2:356-59), concerns Bede's story of the prisoner Ymma, whose chains fall off every time his brother recited a mass for his soul (4.22:243-45).[49]

Three other homilies fit into the second category, as they contain a continuous gloss of Church catechetical doctrine and of the Scriptures. Ælfric clearly wrote two Rogationtide homilies from his First Series with educational catechesis in mind.[50] The homily for the second Rogation

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[48] Hurt, Ælfric, 54. Hurt also mentions here that the form for these stories functioned as the basis for Dante's Divine Comedy.

[49] Godden presents these last two homilies as one longer homily; see, Godden, Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, 199-205.

[50] For a discussion of Ælfric's catechetical agenda, see Eugene A. Green, "Ælfric the Catechist," De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages, eds. Thomas L. Amos,

Day, De dominica oratione (1:258-75), contains an exegesis of the Lord's Prayer while the homily for the third Rogation Day, De fide catholica (1:274-95), contains an exegesis of the Creed and a discussion about Catholic faith. Both of these homilies probably were read, according to Gatch, in the context of a vernacular office,

> often apparently interposed between the reading of the Gospel and the Offertory of the mass, in which one might translate the pericope and perhaps explain it, teach the meaning of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, and bid the prayers of the faithful.[51]

In the Second Series, the homily for the third Rogation Day, In letania maiore. Feria IIII (2:360-371), contains an exegesis of John 17:1-11, which Bazire and Cross think is appropriate for Rogationtide.[52] I would disagree with this assessment, however, as the Latin Church used this particular lesson, as noted in the Comes lectionary, for the Vigil of Ascension, not for Rogationtide.[53]

In the Second Series, the homily for the first Rogation

Eugene A. Green, and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, SMC XXVII (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), 61-74.

[51] Milton McC. Gatch, "The Achievement of Ælfric and His Colleagues in European Perspective," The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds, eds. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1978), 43-73, 44.

[52] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, xviii.

[53] Dictionary of Christian Antiquity, 1880 ed., s.v. "lectionary."

Day, Feria secunda, letania maiore (2:314-333), fits under the third category of general moral instruction. This homily does not have any known source and is thought to be an original composition by Ælfric; although, according to Hurt, "various details may have been derived from his reading, the structure and organization seem to be his own."[54] After a standard exhortation for teachers to instruct holy knowledge to the unlearned people, Ælfric divides his homily into two distinct parts. The first (314-19) is an exposition on the highest commandment: love the Lord, and love your neighbor (Matthew 22:37). The second (318-33) is a discussion about the moral obligations of various classes of people: kings; bishops, priests, and judges; wives and husbands; parents and children; and servants and masters.

Ælfric's Lives of Saints also contains a Rogationtide homily entitled Sermo in leaetania maiore [De auguriis] (364-383). Though the topic of auguries may seem to be inappropriate for a collection of saints' lives, Ælfric's text contains a total of eight non-hagiographic general discourses such as this one. Unlike the other Rogationtide homilies in the Catholic Homilies collection, the one on auguries contains a wide range of sources, including several

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[54] Hurt, Ælfric, 55-56.

ascribed to Caesarius of Arles, the Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert, and Martin of Braga's De Correctione Rusticorum. We also can see a wide range of treatments of these sources in this homily.[55] Though this homily may seem to have nothing to do with Rogationtide, its foundation lies in the earliest history of the Robigalian festival, as I described in Chapter 1. Bazire and Cross argue that this homily appears in eight different manuscripts, but only one contains a reference to Rogationtide in its title: BL Cotton Julius E vii, the principal manuscript for the Lives of Saints.[56] However, the use of dog sacrifices for omens (auguries) was part of a Dog-Star sacrificial rite of pagan Rome, a rite which coincided with Robigalia in Ovid's Fasti account. It would seem plausible to posit, given this point, that Ælfric may have had some knowledge of Ovid's text, or at least of that traditional rite, when he wrote this homily.

These three categories show the various ways in which Ælfric appropriated his sources. He sometimes borrowed them literally, as in the Scriptures, and sometimes he drew upon their sense, as in patristic writings, combining them with his own words and thoughts to produce, in effect, a new

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[55] For a detailed source study of this homily, see Audrey L. Meaney, "Ælfric's Use of his Sources in his Homily on Auguries," English Studies 66(1985): 477-95.

[56] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, xviii.

work. However, he always handled his sources, according to Hurt, "with a keen respect for the spirit of his authorities."[57] His translations may be relatively free, but his interpretations are always close to those of his sources.

The last group of Rogationtide homilies consists of nine texts found in five anonymous manuscript collections: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (CCCC) MS. 162, dating from the eleventh century; Cambridge University Library (CUL) MS. Ii.4.6, from the middle eleventh century; Bodleian MS. Hatton (Hatton) 114, from the third quarter of the eleventh century; CCCC MS. 302, from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth centuries; and CCCC MS. 303, from the early twelfth century.[58] All of these collections are homiliaries that contain homilies written by Ælfric, indicating that his writings had a certain degree of influence on the later homiletic tradition. This influence,

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[57] Hurt, Ælfric, 46.

[58] For discussions about these manuscripts, see Godden, Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, xx-lxxviii; and Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, 6-93. The dates for these manuscript collections are from Ker, Catalogue, 51, 31, 391, 95, and 99, respectively. Also, it is interesting to note that CCCC 162 contains variant texts of Vercelli Homilies 19 and 20, perhaps suggesting some continuity of influence between the Vercelli Book, the writings of Ælfric, and the later anonymous homilies. I use Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, for my discussion of these anonymous homilies. Citations are by line number and are noted in my text. All Old English translations are my own.

however, changed in time, as the later vernacular homilists relied less on his works for direct sources and more on his method of source appropriation to translate their sources' sense. In doing so, they developed the Rogationtide corpus beyond the confines of the Latin tradition and gave it a distinctive vernacular character.

CCCC MS. 162 contains one Rogationtide homily entitled In quatra feria in letania maiore, which has one variant text in Bodleian MS. Hatton 116. The main source for this homily, which visualizes both the physical terrors of Doomsday and the delights of heaven, is the Latin Apocalypse of Thomas, though it also contains parts of several vernacular texts.[59] The introduction to this homily (1-29) consists of an imprecise discussion of Rogationtide that is loosely based on the Latin tradition. It begins with a brief description of the founding of Rogationtide by wise men in the context of its observances, such as fasting and processing around the land while carrying the cross of Christ and other holy relics (1-5). The homilist then turns to a brief history of Christ's life, emphasizing His Ascension, which these days precede (5-14). This discussion is followed by a section concerning the necessity of asking the holy ones for God's protection (15-21). The

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[59] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 41.

Rogationtide observances "swa we oft on bocum gehyrdon secgan" function as a means of asking God for His forgiveness, so that the audience can endure these times, receive His mercy, and turn away His anger (21-29).

The central portion of this homily (30-120) consists of an exposition on Doomsday. The homilist adapts John 12:48 ("qui spernit me et non accipit verba mea habet qui iudicet eum sermo quem locutus sum ille iudicabit eum in novissimo die"[60]) to warn his listeners not to reject the Lord. After a brief explanation that Christ's disciples forewarned them of the coming Doomsday (30-39), the homilist turns to a vivid description of Doomsday as a time of terrors (40-50). He loosely models his dies irae list after that of Sophonias 1:15-16 through additions, variations, and direct translations. Several vernacular homilies, such as an Old English translation of Gregory the Great's Homilia 1 (PL 76, 1121) and Ælfric's homily for the second Sunday in Advent, contain this Scriptural source; however, the homilist probably appropriated his version from a non-scriptural vernacular source, such as Vercelli Homily 2; CCCC MS. 41, "A Homily on the Harrowing of Hell"; or Hatton 114, Feria

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[60] "He that despiseth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him; the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day."

tertia de letania maiore.[61]

The homilist then describes the seven days before Judgment Day (53-120), appropriating the Latin text of the Apocalypse of Thomas. It is difficult to determine how the homilist used his source, as great variations occur between the extant Latin texts. This difficulty is compounded when we realize that the surviving Old English versions also differ from those Latin texts, indicating that even more Latin versions were available to the homilist. This Latin source, as well as various scriptural passages, such as the Apocalypse of John, Matthew 24:29-30, and Daniel 7:10, were part of a group of texts that this homilist and other Latin and Old English homilists thought was appropriate for discussion on Doomsday.[62]

After a brief exhortation to his listeners to protect and guard themselves from these tortures by performing good deeds (121-25), the homilist turns to a description of the Heavenly City (125-38). This juxtaposition of hell and heaven, though somewhat rare in Rogationtide homilies, is, according to Virginia Day, also part of the catechetical narratio.[63] The homilist, in lines 151-62, then exudes a

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[61] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 41-43, 44n.

[62] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 41-43.

[63] Day, "Narratio," 53-54.

string of praises for the Lord that he borrowed from several sources: one is a direct translation from the Scriptures ("He is Cyning ealra cyninga" [Apocalypse of John 17:14, etc.]), some are similar to Scriptural ideas (i.e., "he ys Scyppend ealra gesceafta"), and some are merely superlatives (i.e., "he is fægrost ealra blostma and he is snytro þære soðan lufe").[64]

This homilist unevenly employs both Latin and vernacular sources for his Rogationtide homily, indicating a vague knowledge of the Latin Rogationtide tradition and an extensive knowledge of the Latin and vernacular apocalyptic traditions. In effect, his method of appropriation consists of both word for word and sense for sense translations. Though this homily is not original, the homilist blends his various sources within the Rogationtide framework. Placing a descriptive, fearful picture of Doomsday, the motive for this occasion, at a central point in his homily, he exhorts his audience to ask God for protection by following certain observances during these Rogation Days. This approach emphasizes the grim, spiritual motive for following the homilist's advice and is a common characteristic of these later Rogationtide homilies.

CUL MS. Li.4.6 contains two Old English Rogationtide

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[64] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 43-44.

homilies. The first homily is entitled Sermo in letania maiore. Feria secunda and is drawn almost entirely from Ælfric's Sermo ad populum, in octavis Pentecosten dicendus.[65] The homilist, in general, adds a new introduction (including a section pertaining to Rogationtide) and a new conclusion to Ælfric's sermon; however, his manipulation of Ælfric's text produces, according to Malcolm Godden, "a very different kind of homily."[66]

The introduction (1-40) consists of a general exhortation which contains characteristics similar to many of the vernacular Rogationtide homilies. The homilist begins by reminding his listeners to remember Christ's greatest commandments (to love the Lord, and to love their neighbors). The scriptural source for this passage is Matthew 22:37-40, but this section is an almost verbatim translation of Ælfric's Rogationtide homily, Feria secunda. Letania maiore (2:314-33). Shortly thereafter, the homilist relies upon another Rogationtide homily by Ælfric, In

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[65] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 80. For a commentary on this text and on this anonymous homiletic variant, see Pope, Homilies, 407-14. The corresponding section is between lines 139-454 (pages 421-40 in Pope's edition). I will not discuss the several sources for Ælfric's sermon, as Pope adequately describes them.

[66] Malcolm R. Godden, "Old English Composite Homilies from Winchester," Anglo-Saxon England 4(1975): 57-65, 58.

Letania maiore (1:244-59), to explain that they should ask the Lord for "eorðan wæstma gehihtsumnyssa and þyses lifes gesundfulnesse and æfter ðam þæs ecan lifes myrhþe" (17-19).[67] The remainder of the introduction does not have a known source, though it contains references to specific Rogationtide observances, some of which, such as fasting and almsgiving, the homilist appropriated from the Latin tradition, and some, such as adorning the soul with good works (23-25) and not blaming others (25-26), are unique to the corpus.[68]

The central section of this homily, appropriated from the above mentioned sermon for Pentecost, consists of a discussion of death (41-69), of the fate of the soul (70-130), and of Doomsday (131-247). The homilist eliminates Ælfric's lengthy explanation about the Church year from this source, but he adds various generic observances, such as doing good works (44-46), praying for intercession (61-62), and almsgiving (90-94), to these discussions,[69] making them appropriate for Rogationtide by associating them with asking God for protection from death and from the Last Judgment.

Though the main sources for this anonymous text are

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[67] The abundance of earthly products and the health of this life, and after that the joy of eternal life.

[68] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 80-81.

[69] Godden, "Composite Homilies," 58.

Ælfric's vernacular homilies, the homilist finds ways in which to make his own text original. He selectively translates certain sections about death and Doomsday which he then transforms into a Rogationtide motive through association with traditional observances and with asking God for protection. In addition, this homilist relied almost entirely on vernacular sources, which is a distinctively different practice than that found in either the Vercelli Book or the homilies of Ælfric. Another distinctive feature in this homily, and one that appears throughout the remainder of these anonymous texts, is the presence of original adaptations and abstractions, indicating a movement toward more original writing[70] and introducing many new observances into this vernacular corpus.[71]

The second Rogationtide homily from CUL Li.4.6 is entitled Feria tertia in letania maiore. The homilist appropriated a variety of sources from Ælfric, but he also drew on materials from another vernacular writer, Wulfstan (d. 1023), the Archbishop of York. He introduces this homily by exhorting his audience to confess and quench their sins with abstention and with good works in order to escape

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[70] I discuss the Rogationtide homilists' adapting of Latin sources to emphasize contemporary ecclesiastical concerns, such as catechesis and doctrine, in Chapter 5.

[71] Godden, "Composite Homilies," 58.

eternal bitterness at Doomsday (1-16). The source for this section is Alcuin's De virtutibus et vitiis liber cap. XII, De confessione (PL 101:621), which the homilist probably chose because of its reference to James 5:16, the Rogationtide epistle lesson.[72]

Stressing the role of confession in protecting his listeners from the devil at Doomsday, the homilist turns to expositions on the plight of the people's souls if they do not confess their sins and do good works (19-31), on earning God's mercy through those good works (32-42), on transitory life (43-50), and on the necessity of protection from the devil (51-62). The source for these expositions is Pseudo-Wulfstan Sermon 30.[73] Nevertheless, several omissions from this sermon indicate that the homilist may have relied upon a slightly different version for his source.[74] The homilist then reiterates his call to confess their sins and to refrain from all wrongs (63-67). This short section appears to be a composite of several sermons: Pseudo-Wulstan Sermons 30 and 58, and Wulfstan Sermon 13; however, the modification of and the addition to these texts indicate that the homilist may have relied upon his memory of these

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[72] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 90.

[73] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 90.

[74] Godden, "Composite Homilies," 59-60.

and sermons similar to those of Wulfstan at this point.[75]

The homilist then turns to an extensive list of Rogationtide observances (67-76). Though this section does not have any known direct source, the homilist echoes traditional observances. In the following lines (77-96), he describes the separation of the body from the soul, and the necessity of people to associate themselves with God through prayers, fasts, and almsgiving. He closely translates a section from the Diadema monachorum of Smaragdus for the body and soul description,[76] and appropriated traditional Latin Rogationtide observances for the remainder.

From this point onward, the homilist used various works of Ælfric. Lines 96-99 contain a quotation from Matthew 10: 22 and 24:13 on the importance of persevering in constant belief, which was taken directly from Ælfric's Rogationtide sermon, Feria secunda, Letania maiore (2:314-33), and consists of Ælfric's peculiar patterns of poetic prose.[77] Borrowing literally from Ælfric's homily In caput ieunii, in his Lives of Saints, the homilist advises ways in which the people can earn eternal life, specifically, by giving themselves to God, by doing as He does, and by following the

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[75] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 90.

[76] Godden, "Composite Homilies," 60-61.

[77] Godden, "Composite Homilies," 61.

commands of His teachers (100-05). The following section (106-63) is an abstracted version of Ælfric's homily on St. Stephen. The homilist inserted a paraphrase of Matthew 22: 39 ("And the second is like to this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself") in place of Ælfric's statement about Stephen, so he could preach on the more general topic of love. The homilist then utilized Lives of Saints, Homily 12 for Ash Wednesday, (163-71), abstracting three sections from this source and including a Latin and Old English quotation from Psalm 36:27 and a paraphrase of Ezekiel 18:23. Emphasizing the observances of good works, piety, and almsgiving during Rogationtide, and foreshadowing that of obedience, the homilist borrowed the beginning of Ælfric's Hiberno-Latin tract, De duodecim abusivis saeculi, to exemplify "God's law" (164-73). He then instructs his listeners to think about ways in which to please the all-knowing God continuously, such as through obedience, so as not to be condemned to hell (174-91). This section is a close borrowing of two sections from Ælfric's Rogationtide homily, Feria secunda. Letania maiore (2:314-33). The homilist ends his homily by explaining that they do not know when this transitory world will end, so they should watch and do good works continuously (192-202), which is from

Ælfric's sermon In natale sanctarum virginum.[78]

This homily contains an extensive collection of sources; even so, it is more than a "cut and paste" text. In Godden's words,

> The passages are skillfully woven together on a rather superficial level by inserting frequent connectives and using verbal associations, but there is rather less concern with an underlying thread of thought or argument. There is, though, a certain amount of independence in organizing the material. The homilies do not follow the structure of any one source but have their own organization and character,[79]

This homilist, as well as the previous one, selectively borrowed from the works of various vernacular writers in order to write a homily that was appropriate for Rogationtide, indicating his knowledge of both the Rogationtide tradition and the vernacular homiletic canon.

Four anonymous Rogationtide homilies appear in Hatton 114. The primary source for one, entitled De letania maiore, is a lost Rogationtide sermon of Wulfstan.[80] The introduction (1-17) consists of a description of the general tenets of Rogationtide and of the founding of this occasion by Mamertus. This introduction exemplifies Wulfstan's rendering of a text by Ælfric, in that it contains verbal

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[78] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 92-93.

[79] Godden, "Composite Homilies," 65.

[80] Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd ed., Methuen's Old English Library (London: Methuen and Company, 1963), 22-23.

similarities with his sermons, yet its alterations and additions of words and phrases are characteristic of Wulfstan. In any case, the homilist appropriated his source without any changes.[81]

The homilist then explains the ways to fast and who is exempt from this observance (18-28). Though this section follows the dictates of Canon 33 of the Council of Mainz (in 813), its main source is a sermon by Ælfric for the first Sunday in Lent. This source makes an association between the Lenten and the Rogationtide fasts; however, the homilist substituted the words, "þissa þreora daga fæsten rihte gehealde" (18-19) in place of Ælfric's "þas halgan lenctenlice tide gehealde mid clænum fæstene and mid clænum geþance," in order to eliminate the Lenten reference.[82]

He then turns to his first Rogationtide lesson (James 5:16-20) on the importance of confession and on the power of prayer. There have been suggestions that this section is similar to one found in Ælfric's Feria secunda. Letania maiore (2:314-33); however, the differences between these sections may indicate the influence of a Wulfstan sermon.[83] I would, nevertheless, add a word of caution to these

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[81] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 104.

[82] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 104.

[83] For these opposing viewpoints, see Ker, Catalogue, 396; and Whitelock, Sermo, 22.

suggestions: this lesson was a common Rogationtide lection and, by this time, was probably familiar in many forms to the homilist.

The following section (42-64) contains an interesting weaving of scriptural and Wulfstanian language. Framing the Rogationtide Gospel lesson (Luke 11:5-13), which emphasizes the importance of perseverance in proper words and works as ways in which to ask God for their needs, are two sentences which are similar to those used by Wulfstan. Though these similarities might indicate a source, it seems more than likely that the homilist constructed the sentences from tag phrases he gathered from various Wulfstan texts.[84]

After a brief warning about the end of the world and the Last Judgment (65-71), which were favorite topics of Wulfstan and probably were drawn from a lost Rogationtide homily written by him, the homilist informs his listeners that God gave them spiritual lamps to illuminate mankind about the deceptions of the devil. These lights are various Church officials (72-96). As I mentioned earlier, this metaphor of the lamps appears earlier in Vercelli Homily 11 and also appears in the anonymous Rogationtide homily, entitled Feria II in letania maiore from the CCCC 302 manuscript. Though a number of scholars such as Tristram

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[84] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 105-06.

and Willard have discussed the source for this metaphor,[85] teaching the faith through the "lights" of these Church officials was a common Rogationtide idea by this time.[86]

The homilist then links his discussion about teachers to an exhortation to follow the Rogationtide observances by telling his listeners that these days were established so that they could imitate the teachings of the holy people of Christ (101-02). He then stresses the need to continually thank and praise the Lord for His mercy, as this practice will protect them from hell-punishments (115-38), and ends with a general exhortation to protect themselves from these terrors, "læs we forweorδan þonne we læst wenan," and to love God, who will reward their works (139-43). This concluding section is a close compilation of many different homilies of Wulfstan.[87]

This homily diverges from the earlier Rogationtide homilies, as the homilist primarily relied on vernacular Rogationtide sources written by Wulfstan. Rather than having to adapt non-Rogationtide texts, the homilist fashions the appropriate texts into a smooth progression from one idea to the next. He also shows an extensive

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[85] Tristram, "Leohtfæt-Metapher," 229-49, and Willard, "Vercelli Homily XI," 76-87.

[86] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 106.

[87] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 106-07.

knowledge of his sources, and he feels free to borrow key words and tag phrases from Wulfstan. In this way, this homilist is able to appropriate both the words and the sense of his sources while forming his own thoughts from them.

The second Rogationtide homily in Hatton 114 is untitled and appears between folios 102v-105v. This homily is not original, in that it is virtually a translation of a Latin sermon about the hardships of a bad soul and the joys of a good one at Judgment Day. The only original parts of the homily are in the introduction and in the vernacular translation of the Latin sermon. The introduction consists of a warning to the listeners that this transitory world is not their home and that God will judge them by their works while they here (1-9). This warning is similar to a section of the anonymous Sermones ad fratres in eremo, but it is not a direct borrowing of it.[88]

Though there are a number of extant variant texts for the Latin sermon on good and bad souls, indicating the popularity of this source, the homilist did not appropriate an exact equivalent of any of these texts for his homily. Nevertheless, we are able to determine that the homilist adapted his version for his own audience.[89] Bazire and

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[88] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 115.

[89] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 115-16.

Cross' introduction to their edition of this homily contains a list of the differences between this text and its source, so I only will present a few key differences to show the homilist's originality.

In the section concerning the bad soul (13-49), the homilist omits all references to the armed, spiritual warrior described in the Latin source and its citation of Ephesians 6:14-17 on the armor of God. He also omits a similar Latin reference in the good soul section. In each place, he enumerates general vices (18-20) and virtues (60-63), respectively. Later, in lines 20-22, the homilist has the devils read from a book about all of the soul's evil behavior. This is not in the Latin source, but the homilist balances this reference with a later one in the opposing section, in which he has the angels read from another book about all of the soul's good behavior. Likewise, he balances details about the terrors of hell (23-25), drawn directly from his source, with the joys of heaven (64-65), which only is found in one Latin variant text.[90]

The Latin sermon source has an antithetical pattern of ideas, as seen in its general description of good and bad souls. The homilist, conscious of this form, reworked this source to better reflect this pattern. In doing so,

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[90] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 116-19.

according to Bazire and Cross, he "offers a vivid warning in the especially penitential season of Rogationtide."[91] Though it contains Latin, rather than vernacular sources, this homily emphasizes the same motive for Rogationtide (fear of Doomsday) as the other contemporary homilies for this occasion.

A third Rogationtide homily, appearing between folios 105v-111r in the Hatton 114 manuscript also is untitled. It is interesting to note that while the previous homily consists primarily of Latin sources this one is almost entirely original. The homilist appears to have appropriated only two Latin sources. In the first, he uses the Liber exhortationis of Paulinus of Aquileia (PL 99:242-43) for lines 27-35.[92] This section contests the notion that the listeners can sin now and atone for those sins later, before death, by stating that no one knows when the last day will come and that God will judge their actions during this life at Doomsday. Though a common theme, the similar wordage makes the source clear.[93] The second source appears in lines 100-17. This section contains a

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[91] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 119.

[92] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 125.

[93] Enid M. Raynes, Unpublished Old English Homilies: Mainly from MSS. CCCC 188, Hatton 114, 115, and Junius 121, together with Vercelli Homily 9 (D.Philosophy dissertation, Oxford University, 1955), cxxv-vi.

monologue by Christ at Doomsday, in which He admonishes the people for His treatment on earth. The source for this monologue is Caesarius of Arles' Admonitio de die iudicii, which appears elsewhere in Old English homilies and in the poem Christ III. The close translation of this source, however, indicates that the homilist was working from a Latin and not a vernacular version.[94]

The homilist's writing illustrates a distinctive development in source appropriation. He blends similarities and echoes of various phrases with his own words to create an original text. He presents common Rogationtide themes and observances, as well as those for its Doomsday motive (1-35), relying vaguely on Latin and vernacular texts for his sources. He also fuses scriptural echoes with elaborations on exegetical studies of the Scriptures, cataloging at one point the elect who are on the right side of God (40-42) and the rejected who are on the left (46-50). His description of Doomsday (94-100), according to Bazire and Cross, "exemplifies the fusion of scriptural phrase with accretion on Scripture." This description contains many adaptations of scriptural texts, both of the Old and the New Testament, and of Doomsday tracts.[95]

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[94] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 126.

[95] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 126-28.

The homilist also is attentive to paragraph succession. He answers questions he raises in one paragraph (36-51) in the following one (52-61). For example, one paragraph concerns the Lord wanting the people to purifying their souls and bodies (52-61), and the following one tells them how to do so through fasting, almsgiving, and prayers (62-72). In addition, he also balances the first and last paragraphs by using verbal pairs in each one. In the first, we see "moton and magan" (2), "andetten and beten" (4), "clypian and biddan" (6), "andettan and beten" (7), and "magan and moton" (13). In the last, we see "geornlice and smealice" (136), and "lufiaδ and weorþiaδ" (137).[96]

The homilist clearly links Rogationtide observances with the motive of Doomsday in this homily; however, he does so in a rather distinct way. Instead of appropriating specific sources, he crafts his homily by translating the sense of common ideas and images from a variety of Latin and vernacular sources, blending them together with his own words. As in the other homilies in this category, he emphasizes Doomsday as the motivation for observing certain Rogationtide beliefs; but, unlike them, he primarily does so through echoes of his sources.

The final Rogationtide homily in Hatton 114 is entitled

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[96] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 128, 130n.

Feria tertia de letania maiore and, like the previously described homily, is freely written, using commonplace ideas and phrases. The homily consists of two main sections which were designed to arouse the visual imagination of the homilist's listeners and make them aware of the need to follow the Rogationtide observances.[97] The first section (1-55) consists of a description of how Christ suffered and died for the redemption of mankind (1-25). His listeners, the homilist reasons, should continually thank Christ for this sacrifice by following His commandments, by loving each other, by rejecting the present, transitory life, and by earning heavenly life through fasts and almsgivings (26-55). The second section (56-98) consists of a detailed description of Doomsday and hell. He ends his homily by exhorting them to follow the observances of these days, so they can sit on the right hand of God (99-108).

The homilist evidently wrote this homily without relying on any particular source. His citations of scriptural passages are verbally close, but they are not literal translations. At line 53, he alludes to Matthew 25:41 ("Then he said to them also that shall be on his left hand: Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels") without

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[97] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 136.

citing it but later cites a paraphrased version of it (80-83). At lines 103-05, he presents an antithetical verse, Matthew 25:34 ("Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world"), with few changes. Similarly, he freely quotes Christ's speech and the terrors of Doomsday. Christ's speech in Caesarius of Arles' Sermo 57 is vaguely similar to this homily, as both have Christ talk to a sinner; however, as Cross and Bazire suggest, "the speech of Christ has become a topos of Doomsday descriptions, its base being Christ's words in Matthew 25, exemplified in Caesarius and other writers, which can be verbally changed as needed." The terrors of Doomsday, likewise, have parallels in the Scriptures, the Apocalypse of Thomas, and Pseudo-Augustine Sermo 251, but none of these are direct sources.[98]

Literal translations are of little concern to this homilist. His apparent disregard for accuracy and his free citations indicate that he composed his homily by relying on commonplace ideas and phrases which he probably heard or read in vernacular texts. The visualizations of Christ's death and of Doomsday as ways in which to make his audience follow the Rogationtide observance, rather than accuracy in

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[98] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 136-37.

source appropriation, were of primary importance to him.

The CCCC 302 manuscript contains a Rogationtide homily entitled Feria II in letania maiore. This homily consists primarily of a loose frame concerning Rogationtide around an exposition on the image of teachers as lights. Woven into this homily are reminders about the three Rogation Days, affording a connection between the homily's lessons and the liturgical day for which it was written. The introduction consists of a standard exhortation for the people to listen to scriptural instruction, to think about the three Rogation Days, and to follow specific observances if they want God to hear their prayers (1-25). The homilist concludes his homily by explaining that if they follow all of the Rogationtide observances they will earn God's forgiveness and spiritual happiness in heaven (176-91).

The central portion of this homily (26-175) contains two light images. The first consists of an extensive description of the metaphor of the lamps, in which the homilist explains that God illuminates the people's darkness with the light of His holy ones: patriarchs (34-35), prophets (37), apostles (50), bishops (81), mass-priests (82-83), and evangelists (106). All of these Church officials have specific responsibilities, which the homilist describes in detail. As I mentioned above, the source for this metaphor is Caesarius of Arles' De natale Sancti

Felicis and Homilia in depositione Sancti Honorati;[99] however, given the two earlier Old English Rogationtide references to this metaphor, the homilist probably drew upon a vernacular source.[100]

After a section in which the homilist describes several more Rogationtide observances, including fasting (114-48), he makes an analogy between fasting and preparing a good taper that will enlighten his listeners' houses (149-56). Like a taper that has been properly prepared, they should fast properly by not being sad (158-61), by eating in moderation if they suffer from lack of food (165-68), and by not having enmity towards others (170-75). This taper simile was appropriated, according to Bazire and Cross, from a familiar Latin aphoristic phrase in Defensor's liber scintillarum "with its Old English continuous gloss."[101]

Relying on Latin and vernacular sources, as well as familiar Rogationtide ideas, the homilist emphasizes the role of the Church in enlightening the people. Through the image of the metaphor of the lamps and the taper simile, supported by an extensive explanation of the roles of each of the teachers/lamps, he makes this role memorable to his

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[99] Tristram, "Leohtfæt-Metapher," 229-49; Willard, "Vercelli Homily XI," 80-85.

[100] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 67-68.

[101] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 68.

listeners. Further, the Rogationtide references clearly help to develop this imagery within the vernacular Rogationtide corpus.

The last Rogationtide homily appears in the CCCC 303 manuscript and is entitled In uigilia ascensionis. Bazire and Cross note that this homilist shows little concern "for accuracy of information when transmitting tradition." This appraisal certainly is true concerning the Rogationtide tradition, as the homilist does not accurately depict the founding of this occasion or its observances.[102] In the introductory salutation, the homilist explains to his listeners that these are holy days, so they should not work for greed or for pride during them, but they should work for the greater need of all people (1-4). He then conflates the founding of this liturgical occasion with the exemplum of Elias from the Rogationtide epistle (James 5:16-20) (4-37). This version, however, is the homilist's own elaboration of III Kings 16-18, in which he interjects certain Rogationtide admonitions, such as not going shod, riding horses, or hunting during these days. Though most of these admonishments echo those found in the Latin tradition, some, such as not leaving mass before receiving the sacramental bread, have no parallel in the Latin or vernacular corpus.

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[102] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 57.

The following section (38-75) contains an exposition on the horrors of hell, in which the homilist vividly describes the nine houses of hell, the occupants of each house, and the punishments those people receive. He clearly drew upon familiar traditional features in this section. His descriptions of Doomsday and the nine houses of hell are loose recollections of the Apocalypse of Paul and Virgil's depiction of the nine meanderings of the Styx, respectively, though they could be of other works.[103]

After a brief list of specific ways in which the people can avoid hell and receive God's mercy (76-105), the homilist turns to a description of heavenly bliss. This theme appears in a number of sources, including the Apocalypse of Paul, Vercelli Homily 9, and Pseudo-Wulfstan Sermon 43.[104] He concludes his homily with an exhortation to think about the Last Judgment, remembering the joy of God and guarding against the terrors of hell (106-14).

It would seem that this homilist, along with the other anonymous homilists in this group, were more interested in the sense of Rogationtide than in the accurate depiction of its history or translation of its sources. I would argue, however, that these "inaccuracies" may indicate that the

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[103] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 58.

[104] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 58.

Rogationtide tradition was familiar enough during the eleventh to the early twelfth centuries that these homilists relied more on their memory of its observances, themes, and images than on its actual sources. We can see several changes in the ways in which the Anglo-Saxon homilists appropriated their sources during the late Anglo-Saxon period. Not only is there a shift from a more literal translation to a more freer sense of these sources, but we also see a move towards more original writing as the homilists become more familiar with the Rogationtide tradition. In this changing process of appropriation, new observances, such as tithing, new images, like the lamp and commercial metaphors, and a new motive, that of Doomsday, along with an original writing style enhance the vernacular Rogationtide corpus, making it distinctively different from its Latin predecessor.

CHAPTER 4

THE STORY OF MAMERTUS: NARRATIVE STYLE IN THE OLD ENGLISH ROGATIONTIDE CORPUS

Adaptation, as I noted in the last three chapters, was one of the main ways in which the Church attuned itself to new environments, whether cultural or literary. The Church adapted the pagan-Roman festival of Robigalia into the Christian observance of Rogationtide, and the Anglo-Saxon homilists adapted continental Latin sources to form the Old English Rogationtide corpus. Yet, the vernacular homilists did more than patch together translations of Latin texts and incorporate transitional phrases to make those texts appropriate for Rogationtide. As I will show, they also translated their sources in a literary fashion. One important literary method they applied was narrative style,[1] which we can see when examining the Latin and Old

[1] See Peter Clemoes, "Ælfric," Continuations and Beginnings, ed. E.G. Stanley (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1966), 176-209. Paul E. Szarmach applies Clemoes' suggestion of Ælfric's use of "narrative style" to Old English homiletic literature in general in his article "Three versions of the Jonah story: An investigation of narrative technique in Old English homilies," Anglo-Saxon England 1(1972): 183-92. His examination of the Jonah story in terms of its narrative

English versions of the story of the founding of Rogationtide by Mamertus.

The story of Mamertus appears in three of the Old English homilies: Vercelli Homily 19,[2] (2) Ælfric's homily In letania maiore, from the First Series of his Catholic Homilies;[3] and (3) the Bodleian Hatton 114 homily entitled De letania maiore.[4] A comparison of these three homilies with their Latin source reveals different narrative techniques in the vernacular renderings of this story that are indicative of a developing Old English narrative style tied closely to an evolving Rogationtide motive and corpus.

Mamertus, the bishop of Vienne is commonly thought to have founded the Minor Litanies; however, nothing he wrote

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technique is the basis for my own study in this chapter.

[2] My text for this homily is The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts, ed. D.G. Scragg, E.E.T.S. o.s. 300 (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992). Citations are by line number, and are noted in my text. All Old English translations are my own.

[3] My text for this homily is The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric: In the Original Anglo-Saxon, with an English Version, ed. Benjamin Thorpe, 2 vols., rpt. (London: Richard and John E. Taylor, 1971). Citations are by page number, and are noted in my text. Translations are from this edition.

[4] My text for this homily is Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies, eds. Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982). This homily appears as number 8 in this edition. Citations are by line number, and are noted in my text. All Old English translations are my own.

survived, so we have to turn to the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris (c. 431-89), one of his contemporaries, to construct information on the founding of and the Christian observances for this occasion.[5] In a letter to Aper, Sidonius' friend, around 472 to 473, we learn that Mamertus "designed, arranged, and introduced" the ceremonial litanies pertaining to this occasion and that he associated fasting, prayers with tears, and chanting of the psalms with them as a means of asking God for protection (2:67-68). In a second letter written in 474, this time to Mamertus himself, Sidonius describes the bishop's role in founding the Rogation Days and the condition of Vienne after an earthquake and subsequent fire (2:96).

The story of Mamertus, according to D.G. Scragg, following a study by James E. Cross, was known to the Anglo-Saxon homilists through the Latin homiliary of St. Pére de Chartres, a collection that was "evidently popular in medieval England," but is found chiefly in post-Conquest copies, the earliest of which is Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (hereafter referred to as Pembroke), dating from around

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[5] These letters are compiled in The Letters of Sidonius, trans. O.M. Dalton, 2 vols. (NY: Oxford University Press, 1915). Citations are by volume and page numbers, and are noted in my text.

the second quarter of the eleventh century.[6] The story of Mamertus founding Rogationtide appears as item 40 in this collection:[7]

> Nos enim legimus quod a sancto Mamerto, Uienensium ciuitatis aepiscopo, haec consuetudo primum initiata est quoniam in eius tempore mortalitatem magnam populus suus pertulit, et infirmitas grauissima super suam plebem euenit, et talis fuit illa mortalitas ut illi homines qui illos mortuos ad sepulturam portabant, aut super sepulchrum aut in uia mortui, cadebant. Ideoque supradictus Mamertus sanctus episcopus rogauit uevire omnes uicinos episcopos qui in Galla illo tempore erant, et uoce lacrimabili ad illos dixit: Ieiunemus ergo, fratres, ut discedat a nobis haec mortalitas, quia si Deus omnipotens illo populo Nineuitarum, qui idolis seruiebat, per ieiunium et orationem et lacrimas et gemitum misertus est, quantomagis nobis, qui Christiani sumus, et in baptismo diabolo et omnibus pompis et operibus eius rennuimus, et Deum patrem omnipotentem et filium et spiritum sanctum credimus, miserebitur et dimittet crimina et facinora nostra. Et statim ut illi episcopi et ille episcopi et ille populus hoc ieiunium, cum bono animo, unanimiter impleuerunt, ira Dei et omni mortalitas ab ipso populo discessit, et recuperata est sanitas in eis. Propter hanc causam illi sancti patres in unum constituerunt ut in isto tempore tribus diebus omni populus Christinus in partibus Galliarum hoc ieiunium cum humilitate et oratione et aelymosinis caelebrarent. (37-55)[8]

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[6] Scragg, Vercelli, 310. For a thorough discussion about this homiliary, see Cambridge Pembroke College MS 25. A Carolingian Sermonary used by Anglo-Saxon Preachers, ed. James E. Cross, KCLMS I (London: 1987).

[7] The text I use for the Pembroke source is Cross, Pembroke, 112-14. Citations are by line number and are noted in my text. All translations of this text are my own.

[8] We read in fact that this custom was initiated by the venerable Mamertus, the archbishop of the city of Vienne, because, at that time, the death of many people was endured, and a most severe sickness was happening to the people, and that death was such that those people died who carried the

This story falls into four temporal parts. At the beginning, the writer cites his source--an undisclosed book that his contemporary audience reads (1). This book, he says, describes a disaster--a rapid-acting plague--that befell Vienne in Gaul during the fifth century and about Mamertus' call to the Gallican bishops to gather together for penitential supplications (1-11). The writer then shifts to the present, warning his audience that they must fast and follow various other observances or they will suffer a similar fate as that of the Old Testament Ninivites (11-20). After this lengthy digression, he returns to the story of Mamertus, explaining that the fast held by the bishops and all the people appeased God's anger and that the people recovered. In this way, he concludes, Mamertus

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dead people to the burial, either on the grave or on the way with the dead ones. For this reason, Bishop Mamertus asked the holy bishops in the neighboring bishoprics who were in Gaul at that time to come, and plead with mournful voices with them: We fast therefore, brothers, for the departed from that noted death, through fasts and speeches and tears and groans are pitied, because almighty God ravaged the Ninivites, who served idols, how much greater are we, who are Christians, who resist the devil through baptisms and all processions and work, and believe God the omnipotent father and the son and the sacred spirit, pitied and forgiven our crimes and actions. And immediately as those bishop and those people [observed] this fast, with a good spirit, filled with concord, the anger of God dispersed from that people and all human beings, and [they] were recovered from that. For that reason that father of saints decreed for us at that time three days for all the Christian people in [that] part of Gaul to fast with humility and celebrate with speeches and alms.

founded Rogationtide (20-28).

The story of Mamertus appears in the last half of Vercelli Homily 19. The homilist used this story as an exemplum of his Rogationtide theme of asking God for forgiveness of sins. After instructing his audience about God's triune nature (1-11), he relates the evil of Lucifer and of Adam and Eve and their subsequent fall (12-48), moralizing that his listeners should turn from evil to good, obey and follow the divine teachings, and "us æt Gode 7 æt eallum his halgum mihta bidden,"[9] so that the devils do not raise charges against them (49-57). He goes on to describe the Rogationtide observances they should follow, ending with a discussion on the importance of fasting during this time as a means of serving God and of forsaking the devil (58-105). He introduces the story of Jonah as a biblical exemplum of his Rogationtide theme (105-48) and turns to the story of Mamertus as a historical exemplum (149-64), ending by challenging his audience to choose either good or evil, urging them to "Do gehwa swa him sylfum for Gode gebeorhlicost þince" (165-77).[10]

For comparison, I provide the Vercelli Old English

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[9] Ask for strength from God and His holy ones for ourselves.

[10] Each one do as it seems to himself most splendid before God.

section of the Mamertus story:[11]

> Eac we ræddon on halegum bocum þæt on sumere ceastre þe wæs Uienna haten, on þære wæs sum bissceop se wæs nemned Mamertus. Be ðam is awriten þæt ðæt folc þe he bewiste wearð þearle mid færlicum deaðe fornumen, 7 swa mycel wearð seo untrumnes 7 se færlica deað ofer eall þæt folc þe [he] bewiste, þæt [þa] þe oðre to eorðan bæron þæt sume hie feollon deade ofer þæs deadan byrgenne þe hie þonne byrgdon 7 sume hamweard be were forðferdon, swa þæt nan þara þe oðerne to eorðan bær ham mid þam life ne com. Ða bæd se bisceop Mamertus ealle þa bisceopas þe on ðam earde wæron mid wependre stefne þæt hie ealle 7 hira folc þry dagas fæston 7 bædon hira dryhten þæt hie ealle alysde fram þam myclan 7 þam færlican deaðe. 7 hie ða eall swa dydon, 7 gesetton þa him betwinan þæt man a syððan sceolde þas þry gangdagas healdan fullice mid fæstenum 7 mid ælmessylenum 7 mid cyricsocnum 7 mid eadmodlicum gange 7 mid reliquiasocnum 7 mid eallum godum weorcum. 7 hie sona æt Gode geearnodon ece hæle 7 þæs færlican deaþes afyrrednesse. (149-64)[12]

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[11] Scragg provides a comprehensive listing of variants for his edition of this homily (see Vercelli, 315-26); however, the differences between the variant texts pertaining to the story of Mamertus are relatively insignificant and are therefore not shown in my rendering of it.

[12] Also, we read in holy books that in a certain town that was called Vienne, in there was a certain bishop named Mamertus. Therein it is written that those people whom he watched ever became destroyed severely with sudden death, and so great became that sickness and that sudden death over all that people whom he watched over, that when those who carried the others to the ground that certain ones fell dead over the graves of the dead whom they carried there and certain ones died homeward by the road so that none of those who carried another to the ground came home with their life. Then the bishop Mamertus asked all the bishops who were in the region with a weeping voice that they all and their people fast for three days and ask their Lord that they all be freed from that great and that sudden death. And they all then did so, and afterwards should fully observe those three Rogation Days with fastings and with almsgivings and with attendances at church and with humble-minded journeys and with visits to shrines and with all good works. And they immediatedly earned eternal health and the removal of that

The Vercelli version of the story of Mamertus exhibits markedly different emphases from its Latin source and contains a less disjointed narrative. At the inception of the Vercelli story, the homilist emphasizes his textual authority when he cites his source as "halegum bocum" (149) rather than simply saying that they read about the story in a book. In his description of the disaster, he creates a more emotionally charged event by repeating four times that the people died a "færlicum deaðe" (152, 153, 159-60, and 164), a point that the Pembroke writer only implies in his description of the death of everyone who came in contact with the dead people (5-8). This emphasis in the Vercelli description is enhanced further through the use of the adverbial "þearle" (151), which emphasizes that the people were destroyed <u>severely</u>, rather than through the application of the Latin superlative adjective "grauissima" (5), which notes that they died of a <u>most severe</u> sickness. In addition, the Vercelli homilist humanizes Mamertus in his reaction to this disaster more than the Latin source by turning the weeping voices ("uoce lacrimabili") of the Gallican bishops into the weeping voice ("wependre stefne") of Mamertus as he pleads with them to join him in a three day fast.

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sudden death from God.

Finally, in his descriptions of contemporary observances, we can see the Vercelli homilist consciously attempting to not interrupt his story's narrative line. In the Pembroke version, the Latin writer abruptly stops his story after relating that Mamertus gathered the bishops together, self-consciously inserting "Ieiunemus ergo, fratres" (11), followed by a list of generic observances (fasting, speeches, tears, and groans) and doctrine (resisting the devil and believing in the triune nature of God). When he returns to his story, he draws a connection between the present and past through two observances (fasting and speeches) while introducing a new observance, almsgiving, to the older narrative. This juxtaposition of time and ideas creates a disjointed narrative and an overt attempt by the writer to focus his audience's attention on the preventative observances of the present.

The Vercelli homilist, however, creates a smoother temporal transition and less overt emphasis by completing his description of Mamertus' reaction, in which the bishop institutes a three day fast to ask God for protection from the plague (156-60), before turning to contemporary observances, the first of which is fasting. In this way, the homilist makes fasting a pivotal connection between past and present observances rather than postponing this connection, as the Latin writer does. Further, his

description of these observances are more clearer than their Latin source: instead of participating in processions, listening to speeches, and weeping and groaning, the people are to make humble journeys and visits to shrines, to attend church, and to do good works (162-63). He completes his story, blending this historical narrative with moral actions by implying that these contemporary observances,[13] along with Mamertus' call for a three day fast, led to God's removal of the plague from the people of Vienne (163-64).

Ælfric also blends the historical with the moral in his version of the story of Mamertus, but he does so in his own fashion. After briefly stating the purpose of Rogationtide, Ælfric precedes his lengthy exegetical explication of Luke 11:5-13, the Rogationtide lection on the importance of asking, with the two traditional stories for that occasion, those of Mamertus and Jonah. The Mamertus story functions as a historical link between the purpose of this occasion and the biblical Johah story, forming, as I will show, a cohesive preface to his exegetical lesson.

Ælfric begins by listing the liturgical observances of Rogationtide, a list that blends the concrete concerns of "ure eorðlicra wæstma genihtsumnysse, and us sylfum

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[13] I will return to this notion of the use of contemporary observances in the Old English translations of Latin texts in the following chapter.

gesundfulnysse"[14] with the more abstract ones of peace and forgiveness (244). After pointing to books as his source for the story of Mamertus, Ælfric turns to a more descriptive and graphic portrayal of the disaster at Vienne than those found in either the Latin or Vercelli texts:

> . . . pæt ðeos gehealdsumnys wurde aræred on ðone timan ðe gelamp on anre byrig, ðe Uigenna is gecweden, micel eorð-styrung, and feollon cyrcan and hus, and comon wilde beran and wulfas, and abiton ðæs folces micelne dæle, and þæs cynges botl wearð mid heofonlicum fyre forbærned. (244)[15]

Ælfric's reference to an earthquake and a fire points to a source that is more similar to Sidonius' account than to that found in the Pembroke homiliary. Unlike the Vercelli homilist, Ælfric seems to reject most of this later Latin source for his version of the story, preferring instead to draw upon another source that was familiar to him, though unknown to us.

Characteristically, Ælfric describes this event with language that is at once economical, direct, and balanced. He clearly pairs three disasterous events with their respective outcomes, doing so with stylistic variety and

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[14] "our earthly fruits, and health for ourselves" (245).

[15] ". . . that this observance was established at the time when there happened in a city, which is called Vienna, a great earthquake, and churches and houses fell, and there came wild bears and wolves, and devoured a large portion of the people, and the king's palace was burnt with heavenly fire" (245).

sensitivity. He not only carefully balances and varies the first disaster (one earthquake with two outcomes--the churches and houses falling) with the second disaster (two types of animals with one outcome--devouring the people), but he also varies the order in which he presents all three disasters in order to hold his audience's attention. He also heightens their interest by intensifying these occurrences with descriptive adjectives: it is a "micel" earthquake; they are "wilde" bears and wolves that devour a "micelne dæl" of the people; and it is a "heofonlicum" fire that destroys the king's palace.

Also, as a means of cohesive unity with his introductory passage, he balances concrete, natural disasters (an earthquake and and attack by wild animals) with a more abstract, spiritual one (a heavenly fire) in order to describe this event. This emphasis on a spiritual disaster is quite different from that of the Pembroke version, in which the Latin writer only infers God's role in the plague at the end of the story, stating that His anger was dispersed from the people and they recovered (22-24), and that of the Vercelli version, in which the homilist notes God's role when he says that Mamertus, the bishops, and the people asked God to free them from this disaster (156-60).

Ælfric goes on to note that "þa bead se biscop Mamertus

ðreora daga fæsten, and seo gedreccednys ða geswac; and se gewuna ðæs fæstenes ðurhwunað gehwær on geleaffulre geelaðunge" (244),[16] succinctly focussing on what he considers important: fasting. Fasting appears in Sidonius' letters and the Latin version of the story of Mamertus, both in the context of past and present observances, so Ælfric may have wanted to focus on this catechetical practice,[17] thereby transcending the temporal constraints of his sources. Also, he preserves his narrative line by making fasting a transitional pivot between the story of Mamertus and that of Jonah: "Hi namon þa bysne ðæs fæstenys æt ðam Niniueiscan folce" (244).[18] In this way, Ælfric conflates graphic descriptions of natural/spiritual events, a specific catechetical observance that transcends time, and a historical setting. He masterfully weaves together a moral observance and a historical context, creating, from a larger

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[16] "Then the bishop Mamertus commanded a fast of three days, and the affliction ceased; and the custom of the fast continues everywhere in the faithful church" (245).

[17] For a discussion of Anglo-Saxon catechetical observances, see Eugene A. Green, "Ælfric the Catechist," De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages, eds. Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green, and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, SMC 27, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), 61-74. An earlier study of catechesis is found in Virginia Day, "The Influence of the Catechetical Narratio on Old English and Some Other Medieval Literature," Anglo-Saxon England 3(1974): 51-61.

[18] "They took the example of the fast from the people of Nineveh" (245).

perspective, a narrative that bridges the worldly practices of Rogationtide with the spiritual story of Jonah, thus providing his listeners with a context for his following figural explication of the gospel lection.

Ælfric's narrative technique was not lost on the Hatton homilist, a later Anglo-Saxon writer who borrowed extensively from a lost Rogationtide homily from Wulfstan,[19] and, ultimately, from Ælfric's text as well as from that of the Pembroke author. In his homily, Hatton homilist used parts of Ælfric's description of the disaster in Vienne and some of the Latin Rogationtide observances, blending them with his own original ideas so as to further intensify Ælfric's natural/spiritual distinction and temporal shift while creating a unified narration.

The Hatton version of the story of Mamertus appears near the beginning of this homily:

> And we rædaδ on bocum þæt se gewuna þissa gangdaga wurde aræred on þone timan þe gelamp on anre burh-scire, þe Uigenna is genamod, þæt wearδ mycel eorδstyrung and feollon gehalgode Godes cyricean and manega hus huran, and comon wilde deor and tosliton and abiton ealles to fela þurh Godes yrre; and δæs cyninges botl wearδ mid heofonlicum fyre forbærned and fela ungelimpa gewearδ for folces synnan. And þa bead se biscop Mamertus þreora daga fæsten and þæt man halidom sceolde wyrδlice styrien and mid

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[19] Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide, 104. Whitelock also discusses this homily as a compilation of Wulfstanian sources; see, Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd ed., Methuen's Old English Library (London: Methuen and Company, 1963), 23.

> ælmeslacum georne God gladian, and þæt manna gehwylc unsceodum fotum þam halidome sceolde eadmodlice fylian, and ealle to Christe georнlice clypian; and sona swa þæt gedon wæs, þa wæs swutele gesyne þæt heom God syðþan uðe lisse and miltse. Ne wearð næfre syððan þanon forð eft swylc gedrecednys innan þam lande ac wearð þæt to bysne wide and side þæt man þanon forð þa gangdagas on gewunan hæfde. (4-17)[20]

With the exception of certain spelling variations and the deletion of the reference to peace as a Rogationtide observance, the Hatton homilist, in the three lines preceding this section, copies Ælfric's introduction verbatim, preserving his distinction between the concrete, natural world of earthly production and personal health and the abstract concept of forgiveness. He also closely follows Ælfric's references to the earthquake in which churches and houses fell (6-7) and to the heavenly fire that destroyed the king's hall (9), again, keeping Ælfric's natural/spiritual distinction.

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[20] And we read in books that the practice of these days become established in the time which happened in one city, which is named Vienne, a great earthquake happened there and the holy churches of God fell and many houses fell, and wild deer came and tore asunder and bit in pieces fully to many through the anger of God; and the hall of the king became burned with heavenly fire and many misfortunes happened because of the sins of the people. And then the bishop Mamertus commanded a three day fast and that men should worthily move holy things and eagerly gladden God with giving of alms, and that each man should humbly follow with feet the holy things, and all eagerly call to Christ; and as immediately as that was done, then was clearly seen that God afterwards granted them grace and mercy. Such affliction never happened afterwards from that time hence again in that land but that happened as an example far and wide so that men from that time forward have the Rogation Days as a rite.

The modifications that the Hatton homilist incorporates into his Ælfrician source help to intensify not only this distinction but also the description of the disaster. He adds emphasis by stating that "feollon gehalgode Godes cyricean and manega hus hruran" (7),[21] associating God with the fallen holy churches and intensifying the impact of the earthquake by saying that many houses fell, thus inserting another example of the natural/spiritual distinction. Further, in place of Ælfric's wild bears and wolves, he substitutes wild deer that quite uncharacteristically bite many people and tear them apart (7-8). He goes on to conflate the Pembroke and the Ælfrician versions at this point by noting that this attack occurs because of the anger of God (8), overtly stating God's role in these events rather than reducing them to an afterthought as does the Pembroke writer. He also intensifies the disaster while adding a motive behind this divine anger and retribution: "fela ungelimpa gewearð for folces synnan" (9-10),[22] a motive, by the way, that is unique to this story. The Hatton homilist's modifications also greatly emphasize unnatural, spiritual matters, which is a significant change from Ælfric's carefully balanced natural/spiritual

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[21] the holy churches of God fell and many houses fell.

[22] many misfortunes happened because of the sins of the people.

distinction and the predominately natural disaster portrayed in the Vercelli homily.

In addition, the Hatton homilist blends the Pembroke references to Mamertus' reaction and to the contemporary observances with his own moral elaborations, blurring the temporal differences and heightening the dramatic tension within his narrative. As in the Pembroke, Vercelli, and Ælfric versions, the Hatton homilist notes that Mamertus commanded a three day fast in response to the disasters in Vienne (10-11). However, he gives the subsequent contemporary Rogationtide observances historical authority by changing his Pembroke source in such a way as to make it appear that Mamertus prescribed them. He further enhances these observances by elaborating that the processions should entail carrying and humbly following holy relics on foot (11-13) and that the listeners can eagerly gladden God with almsgiving (11-12), a spiritual reference further emphasized by yet another observance, their calling to Christ (13). Instead of shifting back and forth temporally, as in the earlier versions of the story, the Hatton homilist recounts his narration within this historical context, elaborating that after they had observed all of those practices, God granted the people of Vienne His grace and mercy and the afflictions never occurred again (13-16). He further adds that this event functions as an example for everyone to know

the reason for Rogationtide (16-17).

Like his Ælfrician source, the Hatton homilist makes a clear distinction between natural and spiritual concerns, and smooths the temporally disjointed quality of the story; however, he does so in the context of his own narrative agenda. He places a far greater emphasis on the spiritual side of his story through references to God and to His association with animals performing unnatural actions in order to heighten the dramatic effect and interest of it. He also adds historical authority to his story by presenting contemporary Rogationtide observances in the context of a story about a fifth-century bishop. Along with these events, he fills in the blanks of the earlier sources, providing a motive for the disaster (the sins of the people), a moving action in which God shows mercy and grace to the people after they perform certain observances, and a moral that this disaster functions as an example for others. The Hatton homilist's narration, in this way, is a coherent unit that can stand independent from, yet functions as an example for the homily of which it is a part.

This study of these Old English versions of the story of Mamertus suggests that the homilists stylistically shaped their patristic and vernacular sources by using various narrative techniques. The Vercelli version contains more intensified descriptions and smoother transitions between

the story and the contemporary observances than those found in its Latin source, although it also is loosely juxtaposed with another Rogationtide story, that of Jonah, at the end of the homily. Ælfric's version, borrowed from another source, contains an even more graphic depiction of the Vienne disaster within the context of a finely balanced distinction between the natural and spiritual worlds, transcends the temporal problem of its Pembroke source, and is crafted in such a way as to make it part of the larger exegetical theme. Finally, the Hatton version contains a unified narration complete with graphic portrayals of a predominantly spiritual disaster to heighten interest and with blurred temporal observances to add historical authority. When we compare these three renderings of the story of Mamertus, we see an evolving vernacular narrative style. There is an increasing effort through temporal distortion to blend the moral lesson(s) of the homily with the historical story. At the same time, we see an increasingly effective use of graphic detail both to create an emotional effect and to emphasize the spiritual elements of that story.

Something can be learned about the developing Old English Rogationtide corpus from examining these narrative stylistic tendencies in the context of the homilies that comprise it. Specifically, we see a growing emphasis on the

catechetical theme of the finality of Doomsday and a movement away from the natural, localized concerns of Rogationtide.[23] Though the Vercelli homilists of the earlier set of Rogationtide homilies (Homilies 11, 12, and 13) generally juxtapose numerous observances, historical and biblical exempla, and anecdotes, with little regard for making connections between them, the writers of the later set of homilies (Homilies 19, 20, and 21) tend to incorporate more sophisticated techniques to emphasize Doomsday.[24] In Homily 20, the homilist freely composes a graphic depiction of the Last Day of those who disobey God (189-97), while in Homily 21, as Scragg notes, the homilist makes a logical effort throughout his homily to organize his sources "around the principal theme of the approach of doomsday."[25] Ælfric refines this earlier tradition, uniquely blending a line-by-line exegetical form modeled on the sermons of the Church Fathers with a highly structured thematic form that will become popular in the twelfth

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[23] The following discussion draws upon the information described in my previous chapter.

[24] For information concerning the dating of the various Vercelli homilies, see Scragg, Vercelli, xxxviii-xli.

[25] Scragg, Vercelli, 348.

century.[26] Focussing on a single subject for each homily, such as on catechetical instruction (the Lord's Prayer and the Creed), on biblical topics (Christ's discussion of the greatest commandments and His last words before His ascension), and on dream visions drawn from Bede's History, he stylistically shapes his sources to emphasize catechetical ideas and observances (i.e., fasting, good works, and almsgiving) within a spiritual context. The later anonymous Rogationtide homilists, drawing upon both Latin and Old English sources (primarily Ælfric and Wulfstan), offer a wide spectrum of narrative techniques, from the wordy, imprecise, and formulaic methods found in the Rogationtide homilies contained in the eleventh-century Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (CCCC) MS 162 to the plain and clear wording of those found in the late eleventh-century Bodleian Hatton 114 to the homily from the early twelfth-century CCCC MS 303, which blends an oral quality with a distinctive loose handling of sources.[27] Nevertheless, with only one exception (the CCCC 302 homily, Feria II in letania maiore), all of these homilists focus their writings on the concerns of Doomsday, supporting them

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[26] For a discussion about the historic development of the sermon form, see John W. O'Malley, S.J., "Introduction: Medieval Preaching," De Ore Domini, 1-12.

[27] The dates for these homilies are taken from Ker, Catalogue, 51, 391, and 99.

with catechetical instructions and observances. The Rogationtide motive, the fear that impels the people to ask for God's protection, shifts from localized, natural concerns, such as crop mildew (as portrayed in Ovid's account of Robigalia), earthquake and fire (the continental Latin tradition), and Viking invasion and Church corruption (Vercelli Homily 11 and 12) to the universal, spiritual concerns of death and Doomsday. The main purpose of this narrative development, as I will argue in my final chapter, is to provide a clear catechetical goal within the context of an emotionally charged, but spiritually uplifting story.

What we are seeing, Paul E. Szarmach might argue, is "the existence of a narrative consciousness in expository prose,"[28] a consciousness that is at once attuned to its patristic and vernacular textual sources, to the liturgical season of Rogationtide, and to the needs of its listeners. Within the larger framework of the Old English Rogationtide corpus, this consciousness becomes increasingly more adept at weaving emotion-laden descriptions of Doomsday and catechetical themes, ideas, and observances into homilies that assist the spiritual growth of the listeners by making them aware that the concern for the afterlife is especially important and appropriate during Rogationtide, the three

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[28] Szarmach, "Jonah Story," 192.

days before Ascension. This developing vernacular consciousness, then, is aware of the narrative potential of its Latin sources and its own language, and, as I will show in the next chapter, is aware of its own cultural identity within the context of the earlier Latin Rogationtide tradition.

CHAPTER 5

ROGATIONTIDE METAPHORIC LANGUAGE: TRANSLATING THE PAST IN TERMS OF THE PRESENT

In Chapter 3, I examined the Old English Rogationtide homilies in the context of the Latin tradition. Though a majority of these homilies were derived from Latin sources, the differences indicate that the Anglo-Saxon homilists also made original contributions, such as by adding a fasting observance and a Doomsday motive, that were supported by an underlying vernacular narrative consciousness, creating a distinctive Rogationtide corpus. According to Clare A. Lees, these homilists employed a number of interpretive approaches to translating their sources, including "direct (literal) translation, allusion, mistranslation, and mnemonic recall, to name but a few."[1] Indeed, one has only to look at

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[1] Clare A. Lees, "Working with Patristic Sources: Language and Context in Old English Homilies," Speaking Two Languages: Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies, ed. Allen J. Frantzen, SUNY Series in Medieval Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991): 157-80, 168.

Bede's discussion of translation practices in his History[2] and at Alfred's metaphoric allusion to translation in the preface to his version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies[3] to see reasons for and examples of interpretive translation. Further, these strategies are inextricably tied to their cultural context.[4] In other words, as Lees argues, the Anglo-Saxon homilists simultaneously borrowed sections of their Latin sources and consciously translated them in such

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[2] Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, eds. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969): "Hic est sensus, non autem ordo ipse uerborum, quae dormiens ille canebat; neque enim possunt carmina, quamuis optime conposita, ex alia in aliam linguam ad uerbum sine detrimento sui decoris ac dignitatis transferri" (IV.24). Citations are by book and chapter numbers.

[3] King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies, ed. Henry Lee Hargrove, Yale Studies in English 13 (NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1902): "Gaderode me þonne kigclas, and stup ansceaftas, and lohsceaftas, and hylfa to ælcum þara tola þe ic mid wircan cuðe, and hontimbru and bolttimbru to ælcum þara weorca þe ic wyrcan cuðe, þa wlitegostan treowo be þam dele ðe ic aberan meihte. Ne com ic naper mid anre byrðene ham, þe me ne lyste ealne þane wude ham brengan, gif ic hyne ealne aberan meihte. On ælcum treowo ic geseah hwæthwugu þæs þe ic æt ham beporfte. Forþam ic lære ælcne ðara þe maga si, and manigne wæn hæbbe, þæt he menige to þam ilcan wuda þar ic ðas stuðansceaftas cearf, fetige hym þar ma, and gefeðrige hys wænas mid fegrum gerdum, þat he mage windan manigne smicerne wah, and manig ænlic hus settan and fegernetun timgrian þara, and ær murge and softe mid mæge on eardian ægðer ge wintras ge sumeras, swa-swa ic nu ne gyt ne dyde" (1). Citation is by page number.

[4] Eugene A. Nida, Language Structure and Translation: Essays by Eugene A. Nida (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 28.

a way as to address contemporary ecclesiastical concerns; they "formulated the past in terms of present priorities."[5]

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the language of the Old English Rogationtide homilies in order to discover the ways in which these homilists interpretively translated their Latin sources in terms of contemporary concerns. This examination will focus on a trope that is peculiar to the vernacular Rogationtide corpus: the metaphor of the spiritual lamps. A comparison of the Old English and Latin explications of this metaphor in the context of the written records on medieval preaching reveals that the homilists translated this figure in order to emphasize contemporary Church hierarchical organization in association with catechetical instruction.

The metaphor of the spiritual lamps appears in three different Old English Rogationtide homilies: Vercelli Homily 11; De letania maiore from the Hatton 114 manuscript; and the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (CCCC), MS. 302 homily Feria II in letania maiore.[6] In the Vercelli homily,[7] the

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[5] Lees, "Patristic Sources," 168-74.

[6] For information on each of these manuscripts, see my third chapter.

[7] My text for the Vercelli Book is The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts, ed. D.G. Scragg, E.E.T.S. o.s. 301 (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992). Citations are by line numbers, and are noted in my text. All Old English translations are my own.

homilist presents the "gastlice blacernas" metaphor directly after an exordium on the founding of Rogationtide (1-8). He introduces the metaphor by briefly noting that God gave the people the gospel books so that through them they may learn eternal wisdom (9-10). For the same reason, he goes on to say, God gave them the spiritual lamps:

> Swylce us hafaδ geæld ure dryhten manege gastlice blacernas þa us sculon lihtan mid heofonlicre æfestnesse 7 med haligre lare, þætte nænig man on gedwolan þeostro ne δurh wunige se δe soδfæstnesse lioht gesion wile. (10-13)[8]

The homilist then explains that these spiritual lamps are patriarchs, prophets, apostles, bishops, mass-priests, teachers, and the many churches of God.[9] He ends by telling his listeners that they must obey, hear, and fix the holy teachings and precepts of the gospel in their hearts (13-20).

In the Hatton homily, the "gastlic leohtfæt" figure appears in the center of this general homily on various Rogationtide themes and directly after explications of the epistle and gospel lections for that occasion (James 5:16-20

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[8] Likewise, our Lord has given us many spiritual lamps that should lighten with heavenly piety and with holy instruction so that no one ever remain in dark error, he who wants to see the light of truth.

[9] As I will show shortly, this last "lamp" may be the result of a mistranslation of the Latin source.

and Luke 11:5-13).[10] The homilist says that the Lord "onbærnded mænig gastlic leohtfæt manncynn to onlihtenne, to þon þæt nænig deofla dimnes ne bysgode þam ðe þæt leoht þære soðfæstnysse ongytan woldan" (80-82).[11] These lamps, he goes on to say, are the patriarchs (84), the prophets (86), the apostles (88), and the bishops, mass-priests, deacons, and scholars (94-95).

Most of the CCCC homily explicates the "gastlice leohtfatu" metaphor. After introducing the importance of following spiritual instruction, the homilist explains the Lord's role in enlightening the people:

> Forðan ðe he manncynne onlyhte mænige gastlice leohtfatu and sende hider on þisne middaneard forþan þe he wold gedwæscean þa deorcnysse, and synne þysternysse fram urum heortum acyrran, þurh his þa halgan and þa gastlican leohtfata; and swylce he eac wolde þæt we þises leohtes andweard nysse geearnodon þæt moston on þære toweardnysse mid him sylfum and mid his þam halgum þæs ecan leohtes brucan. (26-31)[12]

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[10] The text I use for the later anonymous Rogationtide homilies is Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies, eds. Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982). Citations are by line numbers, and are noted in my text. All Old English translations are my own.

[11] Ignited many spiritual lamps to illuminate mankind for those who never occupy the darkness of any devils, those who would understand that light of truth.

[12] For that reason, He illuminated people with many spiritual lamps and sent them hither into this world because He wished to extinguish darkness and to turn away the darkness of sin from our hearts through His holy and spiritual lamps; and likewise, He also wished that we earned the presence of this light that we may enjoy this eternal light in

Many people, he then states, do not understand the meaning of the lamps, which are written down in spiritual books, so the Lord appointed scholars to explain them and to illuminate the people (32-34). These "gastlice leorneras" include patriarchs (34-35), prophets (37), apostles (50), bishops (81), mass-priests (83-84), and evangelists (106).

The Vercelli and Hatton treatments of this metaphor and its explication are structurally somewhat dissimilar from that of the CCCC homily. On the one hand, the exposition of both the Vercelli and Hatton homilies suggest four components: signifier, signified, source, and audience. The signifier--the subject of the metaphor--is the lamps, which signify various Church officials. The source, or initiator of the lamps, is the Lord, Who gives them to the listeners, the audience. On the other hand, the CCCC homily's exposition suggests five components: signifier, signified, source, audience, and agent. As in the other homilies, the signifier is the lamps, the source of these lamps is the Lord, and the audience is the people. In this later homily, however, the lamps signify lessons in the Scriptures and in the spiritual books; in other words, they signify texts, which is a quite different significance from the other

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the future with Himself and with His holy ones.

homilies.[13] Also, this treatment of the metaphor suggests a fifth component to which the other homilies only allude: the agent, that is, the Church officials who explain the lamps to the faithful followers.[14]

The above structural comparison reveals two distinctive differences. One concerns the list of Church officials. All three homilists list patriarchs, prophets, apostles, bishops, and mass-priests; however, the Vercelli homilist expands the list to include teachers, the Hatton homilist adds deacons and scholars, and the CCCC homilist appends it with evangelists. The second difference concerns the transmission of the light (knowledge) through the various metaphoric components. In the Vercelli and Hatton homilies, the Lord (as the source) gives the lamps--the various ecclesiastical officials (signified)--to the people

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[13] I should note, however, that both the Vercelli and Hatton 114 homilists infer a different, but by no means less important role of the Scriptures in their metaphors. In the Vercelli homily, the homilist juxtaposes references to the gospels, through which the people learn eternal wisdom (9-10), with the spiritual lamps, who teach the people through heavenly piety and holy instruction (10-13), making an analogous connection between the two with the word "Swylce." In the Hatton homily, the homilist juxtaposes a paraphrase of the Old Testament creation story (73-79) before his spiritual lamps metaphor; however, unlike the earlier homilist, the Hatton writer inserts brief scriptural descriptions about the teaching responsibilities of each Church official to support the notion that this "lamp" teaches the Scriptures to the people (84-96).

[14] This agency component also suggests a rather covert attitude, as I will explain shortly.

(audience) to enlighten them. In the CCCC homily, however, the Lord (source) gives the lamps--the lessons of the Scriptures and of the spiritual books (signified)--to the people (audience), but these lessons must be explained by the officials of the Church (agent). All three homilists present a systematic transmission of knowledge from the Lord to the people through their explications of this metaphor and emphasize that various Church officials are involved in that transmission. The later homilist, however, not only clarifies the role of these officials in the transmission process but also emphasizes the vocation of the Church to educate and enlighten a less knowledgeable audience.

When we compare these Old English renderings of the metaphor of the lamps with its direct Latin source, Caesarius of Arles' Sermo CCXV, De natale Sancti Felicis, we see an even greater disparity in the components comprising this figure and in the systematic transmission of knowledge.[15] The metaphor and its explication are found in

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[15] For detailed studies of the source of this metaphor, see Hildegard L.C. Tristram, "Die Leohtfæt-Metapher in den altenglischen anonymen Bittagspredigten," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 75(1978): 102-13; and Rudolph Willard, "Vercelli Homily XI and its Sources," Speculum 24(1949): 76-87. My Latin text for Caesarius' sermon is Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones, Pars Altera, vol. 104 of Corpus Christianorum (Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1953). My translation for this sermon is Saint Caesarius of Arles: Sermons: Volume III (187-238), trans. Mary Magdelein Mueller, The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, vol. 66 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America

the exordium of this Latin sermon:

> Ad inluminandum humanum genus, fratres dilectis simi, multas in hoc mundo spiritales lucernas dominus noster accendit; ut scilicet inlucescente per sanctos viros caelesti religione atque doctrina neminem omnino errorum tenebrae involverent, qui veritatis lumen videre voluisset. Quae autem sunt istae lucernae, quas ad discutiendam atque inlustrandam infidelitatis caliginem dominus noster indulsit? Primum patriarchas, deinde prophetas, postea apostolos, postremum omnium ecclesiarum sacerdotes. (855)[16] (My emphasis)

This Latin text differs from the Old English versions in several ways, as I show in the table at the end of this chapter. Caesarius' list of Church officials is shorter than those of all three vernacular homilies, as he does not mention mass-priests, teachers, deacons, scholars, or evangelists. In addition, his reference to what is being

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Press, 1972). Citations for both the Latin and English versions are by page numbers, and are noted in my text.

[16] "To enlighten the human race, beloved brethren, our Lord lit many spitirual lamps in this world. Since worship and heavenly doctrine shine through holy men, one who has wished to see the light of truth is never wholly enveloped in the darkness of error. What, however, are these lamps, which our Lord permitted to dispel and illuminate the fog of faithlessness? First, the partriarchs, then the prophets, afterwards the apostles, and finally the bishops of all the churches" (113). I should note that the end of this list states, "postremum omnium ecclesiarum sacerdotes" ["and finally the bishops of all the churches"]. The Vercelli homilist, in Homily 11, mistranslates this section as "7 manege Godes cyrican" (17) [and the many churches of God], turning the Church itself into part of the list of church officials. This may be merely a scribal error, but I would speculate that this "error" further emphasizes the Church in the enlightening process. As such, as I will explain later, this section exemplifies an example of interpretive translation.

enlightened (worship and doctrine) is different from the later translations, which either infer or specify it as being the Scriptures.

In spite of these differences, the three vernacular Rogationtide homilists closely translated the key words of Caesarius' metaphor. Two Old English glossaries show "blacernas," the Vercelli rendering, as being equivalent to Caesarius' "lucernas."[17] The same glossaries show that "leohtfæt," the word choice for the Hatton and CCCC homilies, is equivalent to the Latin word "lampas." Though "blacernas" and "leohtfæt" mean virtually the same thing,[18] it is clear that the later homilists were more concerned with translating the sense of their source than its word equivalent. As Mary Catherine Bodden notes,

> The OE concrete vocabulary, that is, words with a high degree of specificity, seldom lacked parallel equivalent terms for Latin sources. This is not quite true, however, of its generic vocabulary - words with a high degree of generality and therefore more subject to differences of interpretation.[19]

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[17] These Old English glossaries are found in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A.III. See, W.G. Stryker, "The Latin-Old English Glossary in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A.III" (Ph.D diss. Stanford University, 1951) and J.J. Quinn, "The Minor Latin-Old English Glossaries in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A.III" (Ph.D diss. Stanford University, 1956).

[18] Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, 1882-1898 ed., s.v. "blæcern," and "leohtfæt."

[19] Mary Catherine Bodden, "Anglo-Saxon Self-Consciousness in Language," English Studies 68(1987): 24-39, 31.

It would seem that the Old English words "blæcern" and "leohtfæt" would have a fairly specific Latin equivalent; but, these words are more generic, in that they can mean either "lamp" or "light."[20]

This metaphor was not original with Caesarius but was taken from some other unidentified source. Rudolph Willard argues that the metaphor's explication exhibits stylistic differences from the rest of Caesarius' sermon: "Its rhetorical and self-conscious elaboration differs markedly from the clear, direct, and simple manner of Caesarius."[21] Though his direct source is unknown, scriptural references to lamps and lights probably greatly influenced Caesarius' writing of this sermon. A comparison of these references with those of the Caesarian and Old English texts reveals that the later writers selectively translated the components comprising this figure in order to emphasize the contemporary Church's role in catechetical instruction.

In the Old Testament, God is the source of and is signified by the lamps/lights.[22] He both created the "lux" (Genesis 1:3) and is the light (Psalm 26:1), and He is the

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[20] Oxford English Dictionary, 1971 ed., s.v. "lamp" and "light."

[21] Willard, "Vercelli Homily XI," 78.

[22] My Latin scriptural references are from the Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem. I use standard citations, which are noted in my text.

"lucerna" who enlightens specific patriarchs and holy men, such as David (2 Samuel 22:29) and Job (Job 29:3). In addition, two other scriptural passages refer to the word of God as a lamp that enlightens others (Psalm 118:105 and Proverbs 6:23). These Old Testament references emphasize two main ideas found in the later Latin sermon and Old English homilies: God initiates the light, as He is the source of it, and the lamp teaches, as God and His word guide the steps of the patriarchs and holy men.

The New Testament contains light references, elaborates the Old Testament's signification, and emphasizes its guidance function. The gospel writers commonly associate Christ with light (Matthew 4:16, Luke 2: 32, and John 1:5 and 9:5) and note that this light illuminates darkness and guides people (John 1:9). Several epistle writers make this same connection. Paul, in three of his letters, emphasizes Christ's ability to enlighten the darkness of people and guide them (1 Corinthians 4:5, Ephesians 5: 13-14, and Colossians 1:13). Also, two other writers report that people should listen to and follow Christ's light, as it brings them into fellowship with others (Colossians 1:12 and 1 John 1:7). The New Testament also contains references to prophets, apostles, and gospel books as lights who guide others: the prophet John the Baptist (Luke 1:79 and John 5:35), the apostle Paul (Acts 13:47 and 26:16-18), and the

gospel books (2 Corinthians 4:3-6).[23] Finally, the New Testament writers mention that Christian followers should be lights to others through their actions (Matthew 5:14-16, Ephesians 5:8-9, and 1 John 2:9-10).

The Scriptures provide a number of possible choices for the various components of the image of the lamps/lights. The source is God in the Old Testament (OT), and Christ in the New Testament (NT). The signifier is the lamp (OT) and the light (OT and NT). This lamp signifies God and the word of God (OT), and Christ, the prophets, the apostles, and the gospel books (NT). The audience being illuminated is the Jewish people, the patriarchs, and the holy men (OT), and the Christians and the unbelievers (NT). Finally, the agent is the apostles and good works (NT).

The Caesarian and Old English texts contain some of these scriptural elements; however, unlike the Scriptures, these later works emphasize the Church's teaching responsibilities. Caesarius' sermon, as in the New Testament references, specifies that the Lord enlightens people through His lamps. However, it augments the number of Church officials signified by the lamps, adding bishops

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[23] Interestingly, in this last reference, Paul notes that the gospel books are a light of knowledge for the people, adding that the apostles should assist in the transmission of this knowledge, thus introducing the idea of agency. This agent induced transmission is similar to the one found in the Old English CCCC 302 homily described above.

to the scriptural list. A second difference appears in the means by which these Church officials enlighten the people. Instead of some generic moral behavior, Caesarius substitutes more precise references to principles of faith, worship, and heavenly doctrine shining through these officials. As a result, his text emphasizes the idea that the Church is to teach these principles to the Christian followers, diverging from the scriptural emphasis on the Lord guiding and enlightening the people through His lamps.[24]

The Old English homilists further emphasize this teaching responsibility in their translations of Caesarius' sermon. The Vercelli homilist adds mass-priests, teachers, and the many churches of God (16-17) to Caesarius' list. He also stresses that these Church officials were to teach the moral instruction of the gospel books to the people; however, his moral lessons are somewhat more specific than

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[24] Though Caesarius borrowed this metaphor from an unknown source, as noted above, it would be difficult to determine how much he borrowed from this source and/or the Scriptures and how much is his own invention. For discussions of Caesarius' treatment of his sources, see The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France During the Sixth Century, Analecta Gregoriana 51 (Rome: 1950): 264; and Joseph B. Trahern, Jr. "Caesarius of Arles and Old English Literature: Some Contributions and a Recapitulation," Anglo-Saxon England 5(1976): 105-19, 118. I also should restate that Caesarius' covert idea of intermediary Church officials teaching the people appears overtly in the New Testament (2 Corinthians 4:3-6) and in the CCCC homily.

those found in the Vulgate Bible and in Caesarius' sermon. He exhorts his listeners to learn eternal wisdom through the gospel books (9-10), and, later, he states that they must obey, hear, and fix those true teachings and holy precepts of the gospels in their hearts (17-20).

The Hatton homilist also emphasizes the Church's teaching vocation, augmenting Caesarius' list of Church officials with mass-priests, deacons, and scholars (94-95). Further, he enhances his Latin source's references to teaching moral principles by briefly describing how these officials instructed the faithful through their examples and words. The patriarchs, he says, were examples of good works and virtues, and instructed the people of God (84-85). The prophets corrected the sins of the people and proclaimed the coming of Christ (86-88). The apostles taught the people how to love, to flee eternal punishment, and to earn eternal rest (88-93). Finally, the bishops, mass-priests, deacons, and scholars guided the people in how to live their lives (94-96).

The CCCC homilist likewise expands Caesarius' list of teachers, adding mass-priests (82-83) and evangelists (105). Similar to the Hatton homilist, he provides teaching subjects for each these officials, but he also incorporates a specific catechetical lesson into some of his

descriptions: morality with eschatological sanctions.[25] The patriarchs illuminated the people and established the example of good works (34-36). The prophets proclaimed the fairness and loveliness, as well as the darkness, sins, and errors of the world. They also spoke about the future judgment of Christ, told of the ways in which to earn the kingdom of heaven and to flee from hell-pains, and described the characteristics of heaven and hell (37-49). The apostles, who were sent into the world to strengthen, instruct, and perfect the people, also condemned idolatry, destroyed lusts, and cherished the kingdom of God. These apostles, the homilist goes on to say, earned Christ's help, His spiritual power, and a place at the right hand of God because they did the will of Christ (50-62). Bishops were appointed as teachers to strengthen and to instruct the people, if they humbly served them (81-83). Mass-priests taught the people about the spiritual births they would

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[25] Morality with eschatological sanctions, according to Gatch, is one of the subject matters of catechesis in the Carolingian age (c. 750-850). In particular, catechesis includes: "the interpretation of the creed and Lord's Prayer, morality and its eschatological sanctions, and explanations of the liturgy." See Milton McC. Gatch, Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 37. Father Green also provides an interesting discussion on catechetical subjects. See, Eugene A. Green, "Ælfric the Catechist," De Ore Domini: Preacher and the Word in the Middle Ages, eds. Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green, and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, SMC XXVII (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), 61-74.

receive through baptism, confession, and acceptence of the body and blood of Christ (83-104).

We see, then, in these Latin and Old English texts a pattern of increasing emphasis on the Church's teaching vocation and of increasing descriptive specificity on the catechetical lessons it is to teach, from the holy precepts of Vercelli Homily 11 to the exhortation to practice good works in order to flee eternal punishment in the Hatton homily to the CCCC homilist's promotion of baptism and confession as ways in which to earn God's favorable Judgment. This increasing emphasis on ecclesiastical officials teaching catechesis is in accord with the Church's developing history of preaching.[26] Around the year 200, each of the various Christian factions agreed to create an internal structure organized around a single leader, called a bishop, who was to be assisted by a group of presbyters (priests) and deacons.[27] Bishops originally did all of the preaching in the early Church; even as late as the seventh century, they wrote virtually all of the Latin sermons, and some still wrote them during the eleventh century, though by then an ever increasing number of priests and other clerics

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[26] With a few exceptions, I primarily rely on Gatch's summary of the history of preaching (Preaching, 30-37), as little else has been written on the subject.

[27] Joseph H. Lynch, The Medieval Church: A Brief History (NY: Longman Publishing, 1992), 6.

shared that responsibility.[28]

There are many references to the Church encouraging a larger number of clergy to preach and to instruct the people in catechesis, particularly in Anglo-Saxon England. An examination of some of the proceedings of various ecclesiastical councils and synods during the eighth through the eleventh centuries reveals this catechetical responsibility. The canonic edicts written at the Council of Clovesho in 747 indicate the preaching duties of both the episcopate (bishops) and the presbyter orders, and describe what those duties entail.[29] Canon 1 exhorts the bishops to teach the people by example and by word because they are to reform them by their own example and "instruct them by the preaching of sound doctrine" (17). Canon 3 implies a missionary practice of preaching, directing bishops to travel throughout their dioceses at least once a year and to call the people together to teach them the word of God. In addition, it specifies that these bishops are to teach basic

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[28] Gatch, Preaching, 30-31. For another discussion of the role of preaching shifting from the episcopate to the presbyter, see T.G. Jalland, "The Doctrine of the Parity of Ministers," The Apostolic Ministry: Essays on the History and the Doctrine of Episcopacy (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1946), 305-49.

[29] The following description of several of the canon laws comes from Documents Illustrative of English Church History, comps. Henry Gee and William John Hardy (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1910). Citations are by page numbers and are noted in my text.

catechetical instruction to the people in remote areas (17-18). Canon 6 commands the bishops to ordain monks and clerks as priests after making sure that they are adequately prepared in catechetical matters:

> For how can he preach sound faith, or give a knowledge of the word, or discreetly enjoin penance to others, who has not earnestly bent his mind to these studies; that he may be able according to the apostle, "To exhort with sound doctrine." (18-19)

Canon 10 directs priests to teach the Creed and the Lord's Prayer (20), a practice also emphasized, along with other teaching responsibilities, in Canon 11:

> . . . and that they do in the first place, teach all that come to take directions concerning their own life for them, that "without faith it is impossible to please God." And that they instil the creed into them, that they may know what to believe and what to hope for: and that they deliver it to infants, and to those who undertake for them in baptism, and teach them carefully the renunciation of the pomps of the devil, and auguries, and divinations; and afterwards teach them to make the established professions. (20-21)

Finally, Canon 14 prescribes that abbots and priests are, by preaching, to "instruct the servants subject to them, from the oracles of Holy Scripture, in the rules of religious conversation and of good living" (21-22).

Similar edicts about teaching catechesis subsequently appeared on the Continent. A series of ecclesiastical councils held in 813 generated canons specifying that Church officials should teach catechetical lessons to the faithful. Canon 17, from the Council of Tours, as Milton McC. Gatch

quotes, links bishops with preaching about catholic faith and doctrine:

> "It is our unanimous opinion that each bishop should have homilies containing needful admonitions by which his subjects may be taught, that is concerning the catholic faith, in order that they may be able to embrace it, concerning the perpetual retribution of the good and the eternal damnation of the evil, concerning the coming general resurrection and last judgment and by what works one may merit eternal life and by what works be excluded from it."[30]

Canon 14 from the Chalon synod specifies that the bishops should instruct the people in catechetical matters. In addition, Canon 14 from the Council of Mainz "treats catechetical teaching of the symbol and the Lord's Prayer by the 'sacerdotes.'" Ecclesiastical teaching, as these canons legislated, had a catechetical function, since the bishop or presbyter was to teach the Creed and Lord's Prayer "as rudiments of the faith."[31]

The presbyter's responsibility of teaching catechetical lessons was generally accepted throughout Anglo-Saxon England by the mid-tenth century, as we find many references to it in ecclesiastical writings after that time.[32] Oda,

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[30] Gatch, Preaching, 34. This use of homiliaries, Gatch also notes here, refers to those which contain catechetical texts and not to those containing exegetical texts, as in Paul the Deacon's Homiliary.

[31] Gatch, Preaching, 34.

[32] The following examples are from Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, eds. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke, vol. 1 of 2 vols.

the archbishop of Canterbury, closely followed the canons of the Legatine Council of 786 when, in his Constitutiones Odonis, written between 942-946,[33] he noted the importance of everyone knowing the paternoster and creed in Chapter 2, and explained in Chapter 4 that the presbyters should preach by word and example (71). Ælfric wrote several letters specifying the catechetical teaching responsibility of the presbyter order. In one, to Wulfsige III, bishop of Sherborne, dating from around 995,[34] he first explains that the mass-priests were to teach through their words and examples (204-05) before noting the catechetical subjects these priests were to teach:

> Se mæssepreost sceal secgan Sunnandagum 7 mæssedagum þæs godspelles angyt on englisc þam folce; 7 be þam

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(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981). Citations are by page numbers, and are noted in my text. All translations are from this edition.

[33] Two scholars have noted the similarities between the Constitutiones and the Legatine canons. See, Roundell Selborne, Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes, 2nd ed. (London, 1892), 324-26; and G. Schoebe, "The Chapters of Archbishop Oda (942/6) and the canons of the Legatine Councils of 786," BIHR 35(1962): 75-83. The Constitutiones appears in British Library MS. Cotton Vespasian A. xiv. For a discussion of this manuscript and the chapters, see Councils and Synods, 67-68.

[34] This letter appears in three manuscripts: Cambridge, University Library, MS. Gg.3.28, dating from around 1000; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 190, dating from the late eleventh century; and Bodleian MS. Junius 121, dating from the late eleventh century. For a discussion about these manuscripts and about the letter in particular, see Councils and Synods, 191-95.

> paternostre 7 be þam credan eac, swa he oftost mage, þam mannum to onbryrdnysse, þæt hi cunnon geleafan and heora Cristendom gehealdan. (208-09).[35]

All of these canonic edicts and literary examples from the eighth through the eleventh centuries consistently emphasized the Church's role in teaching catechesis.[36] The metaphoric emphases in the Vercelli, Hatton, and CCCC homilies, I would argue, denote a contemporary interpretation of the Latin sources. Through interpretive translation, the Anglo-Saxon homilists reformulated and reshaped their sources in the context of contemporary Church hierarchical organization and fundamentals of catechesis.

Further, this emphasis on Church officials teaching catechetical principles underscores a particular ecclesiastical attitude: a self-conscious and self-serving

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[35] "The mass-priest shall tell to the people on Sundays and festivals the meaning of the gospel in English; and about the paternoster and about the creed also, as often as he can, as an incitement to men, that they may know the faith and observe their Christianity." Interestingly, Ælfric's Rogationtide homilies also reflect this concern for teaching catechetical matters, including interpretations of the Lord's Prayer (Feria III. De dominica oratione) and of the Creed (Feria IV. De fide catholica), and an explanation of the liturgy, specifically Rogationtide (In letania maiore), in the First Series of his Catholic Homilies; morality in the Lord's commandment to love God and one's neighbor (Feria secunda. Letania maiore), eschatological sanctions (Item. In letania maiore. Feria tertia), and explanations of the Mass (Hortatorius sermo de efficacia scae missae) and of Ascension Day (In letania maiore. Feria IV), in the Second Series; and an admonition against auguries (Sermo in laetania maiore [De auguriis], in his Lives of Saints.

[36] Gatch, Preaching, 37.

effort by the vernacular homilists to legitimize their authority to teach their listeners, that is, to authorize their pastoral role in society. Supporting this pastoral authority, these homilists, within the explication of the metaphor of the lamps, establish an unequal dichotomous relationship between those who have the knowledge of God's Scriptures (God and the Church officials) and those who do not (the audience) by portraying a need in the audience that only the Church officials (including the homilists), as teachers of this knowledge, can satisfy. In Vercelli Homily 11, the homilist states that the Lord gave his listeners the lamps so that no one would ever have to remain in dark error (12-13), implying that the people would live in ignorance without the Church's guidance, a notion the homilist supports later when he says that the lamps illuminate the dimness of the faithlessness of mankind (13-15). The Vercelli homilist portrays the people as doctrinally deficient and faithless, and therefore in need of the Church's knowledge and guidance.

The Hatton homilist also portrays the audience as being spiritually destitute and in need of the Church's instruction. After explaining that God cares for all the people He created and wants them to recognize Him, he says that these people must live in sorrow and misery on earth and go to an eternal death in hell because of original sin

(72-79). However, he goes on to say that the Lord's spiritual lamps are available to those people and can help them see truth (79-82). The Church officials, in their vocation as teachers, are the only ones who can rescue these people from their inherent sorrow, misery, and damnation, and guide them to the truth and knowledge of God, according to this Church homilist.

Finally, in the CCCC homily, the homilist portrays the audience as being even more ignorant and sinful, and in need of the spiritual lamps (the Scriptures). He says that the Lord sent these spiritual lamps into the world because "he wold gedwæscean þa deorcnysse, and synne þysternysse fram urum heortum acyrran" (26-31).[37] Further, he notes that many people do not understand the lessons of the spiritual lamps:

> Mænig mann on þysum gemote wunaδ and hwæδere hæfδ þæt andgyt hwæt þa gastlican leoht synt buton hit hym seo gastlicenysse gerece, swa hit gecweden ys on gastlicum gewritum þurh gastlice leorneras þæt us wæron to leohtfatum gesette. (31-34)[38]

These "gastlice leorneras," the Church officials, according to this homilist, teach these unenlightened people about the

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[37] He wished to extinguish the darkness, and to turn away the darkness of sin from their hearts.

[38] Many men dwell in this assembly and nevertheless do not have that understanding what the spiritual light is except if it is explained to them spiritually, as it is said in spiritual writings through spiritual scholars who were appointed to illuminate us.

lessons of the Scriptures.

The three treatments of this metaphor of the lamps, then, are the homilists' conscious attempts through interpretive translation to authorize the transmission of catechetical knowledge from those who have that knowledge to those who do not. They legitimize the Anglo-Saxon Church's authority to teach catechesis by creating a need within their metaphoric explications, forming an imbalance of knowledge in which the faithful audience must rely on the Church for guidance. In effect, these homilists are practicing what I would call exegetical translation, in which they are producing versions of their source by interpreting it in terms of its contemporary cultural relevance (i.e., authorizing the Church's pastoral role of teaching catechesis) rather than the cultural context of its source.[39] More importantly, in terms of the Old English Rogationtide corpus, this practice of exegetical translation helps associate catechetical instruction, one of the most important ecclesiastical concerns of the late Anglo-Saxon Church,[40] with Rogationtide, forming, as I will argue in my concluding chapter, an effective homiletic medium for

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[39] I formulated this idea of exegetical translation from Nida, Language, 24-46, specifically from pages 28, 29, and 33, concerning translation, exegesis, and cultural contexts of translation.

[40] Gatch, Preaching, 34-39.

teaching catechesis.

END NOTE

COMPARISON CHART OF METAPHORIC LAMPS

Caesarius	Vercelli	Hatton	CCCC
(lucernas)	(blacernas)	(leohtfæt)	(leohtfætu)
patriarchas	heahfæderas	heahfæderas	heahfæderas
prophetas	witigan	witegan	witegan
apostolos	apostolas	apostolas	apostolas
sacerdotes	bisceopas	biscopas	bisceopas
	mæssepreostas	mæssepreostas	mæssepreostas
	lareowas		
	Godes cyrican		
		diaconas	
		leorneras	
			godspelleras

CHAPTER 6

EPILOGUE: TRANSFORMING THE ROGATIONTIDE CORPUS

In 1970, the Roman Church removed the Major and Minor Litanies from the general calendar and replaced them with a day of special prayer, making their observance a local concern. In the Constitution of the Liturgy prepared at Vatican II, the chapter on the liturgical year notes that the observance of Rogationtide is to be left up to the local bishops.[1] These bishops are to specify the norms for this particular day, but the Constitution clearly designates the types of prayers to be presented during it.[2] These edicts ended the development of the Rogationtide homiletic corpus

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[1] International Commission on English in the Liturgy, Documents on the Liturgy 1963-1979: Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1982), 5.5: 4033. Citations are by chapter, section, and paragraph numbers. This particular section reads: "It is for the conference of bishops to decide for its own region how the celebrations corresponding to the rogation and ember days are to be observed. The conference is therefore to decide the time and number of days for rogations and also the time, number, and purpose of the days corresponding to the ember days."

[2] "On rogation and ember days the practice of the Church is to offer prayers to the Lord for the needs of all people, especially for the productivity of the earth and for human labor, and to give him thanks" (5.1:3812).

that, as I have shown, was formed in Anglo-Saxon England.

This dissertation has described the transformation of Rogationtide from the pagan-Roman rite of Robigalia into one of the most important liturgical observances in Anglo-Saxon England. We can see this importance quantitatively in the large proportion of Old English homilies written for this occasion. The vernacular corpus consists of twenty-four homilies spanning the tenth through the early twelfth centuries of English history, a sizable group of works written specifically for a single liturgical season.[3] In this concluding chapter, I will examine some of the reasons for this importance. Specifically, I will focus on the changes that this corpus underwent as the vernacular homilists translated the Latin Rogationtide tradition and on the transformation of the purpose of the Rogationtide liturgical occasion that produced those changes.

The Anglo-Saxon homilists created a dynamic vernacular Rogationtide corpus, one that evolved and developed along translational, motivational, and didactic lines. Their translations of sources varied greatly; however, over time, we see a movement towards freer, more original renderings of

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[3] This disproportionate size is reflected in Ælfric's Catholic Homilies collection, in which he wrote one or two homilies for each of the liturgical occasions with several notable exceptions, including Rogationtide, for which he wrote eight, and Lent, for which he wrote twenty-two.

those sources. This change is evident in, but certainly not limited to their translations of the Scriptures. On the one hand, the Vercelli homilists and Ælfric translated their biblical passages fairly accurately. The Vercelli homilists, in Homilies 11, 12, and 13, provided both Latin transcriptions and Old English translations of scriptural verses, inviting a close examination of their work. Ælfric, while generally avoiding Latin transcriptions, cited his scriptural sources, provided vernacular translations, and exegetically explained each verse. On the other hand, the later anonymous Rogationtide homilists seem to have had little regard for scriptural accuracy; instead, they preferred to translate the sense of the verses, even going so far as to merely echo their ideas and lessons within original homilies. Three notable examples of this freer method of translating the Scriptures appear in the Bodleian Hatton 114 homily Feria tertia de letania maiore, in the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (CCCC), MS. 302 homily Feria II in letania maiore, and in the CCCC MS. 303 homily In uigilia ascensionis.[4]

A second area of change pertains to the Rogationtide

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[4] For fairly lengthy discussions of this freer method of scriptural translation in the context of these three homilies, see Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies, eds. Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 136-39, 67-69, and 57-61, respectively.

motive--the fear that impels the people to ask for God's protection. This motive underwent a startling transformation during the translation process. The Old English renderings of the Latin Rogationtide texts become increasingly more descriptive, graphic, and eschatological. We see a rapid shift from the concrete, localized fears of Viking invasions and Church corruption, as noted in Vercelli Homily 11, to Ælfric's balanced portrayal of natural earthquakes and spiritual fires in his In letania maiore to the abstract, spiritual fears of death, the Last Days, and Doomsday found throughout the later anonymous homilies. As indicative of this change, these later homilies contain more emotion-laden descriptions of the misery of hell, as in the Cambridge University Library (CUL) MS. Ii. 4.6 homily Sermo in letania maiore. Feria secunda; of the signs of Doomsday, as in CCCC MS. 162 In quarta feria in letania maiore); of the nine levels of hell, for example in CCCC MS. 303, In uigilia ascensionis; and of visions of Christ at Judgment Day, in Hatton 114, folios 105v-111r, untitled. This use of descriptive and graphic language to create an emotional impact, which has its historical precedent in Book 4 of St. Augustine's De doctrina christiana and ultimately in

classical rhetoric,[5] assisted in adding a dramatic touch to the narratives, producing interest in the listeners by capturing their attention and imagination.[6]

We can see a third change in the Old English Rogationtide corpus in the increasing emphasis on didactic instruction. As I explained in the previous chapter, the homilists translated their sources so as to emphasize the contemporary Church's role in teaching catechesis. Though they differ in their portrayals of the teaching vocation of the Church, from the covert use of metaphors (i.e., the

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[5] For an informative essay on Augustine's discussion of homiletic rhetoric, especially on the use of emotion as a method of persuasion, and on its similarities to the teachings of Cicero, see Charles S. Baldwin, "St. Augustine on Preaching," Essays on the Rhetoric of the Western World, eds. Edward P.J. Corbett, James L. Golden, and Goodwin F. Berquist (Dubuque, IA: Kendell/Hunt Publishing Company, 1990). Another important book concerning Augustine's rhetorical teachings and the influence of classical rhethoric is James J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance (Berkely: University of California Press, 1974), especially the chapter entitled, "Survival of the Classical Traditions" - pages 89-132.

[6] Le Goff argues that one of the social and cultural functions of the marvelous during the Middle Ages was to create a fascination in the minds of the listeners (28-29). Though I agree wholeheartedly with this appraisal, I disagree with his contention that the marvelous was rejected by the Church from the fifth to the twelfth centuries. Clearly, the increasingly graphic eschatological depictions in the Old English Rogationtide homilies indicate that there was a transition leading up to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See, Jacques Le Goff, The Medieval Imagination, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), especially "The Marvelous in the Medieval West" - pages 27-44.

metaphor of the lamps) to the overt descriptions of ecclesiastical teaching responsibilities (Ælfric's Feria secunda. Letania maiore), the later Rogationtide homilists placed more emphasis on specific catechetical lessons, particularly, in light of the above motivational changes, on morality with eschatological sanctions. We see a shift away from a myriad of catechetical ideas, themes, and observances as noted in the Vercelli Rogationtide homilies to a more concise list in the later homilies. In addition, there is a much clearer causal association between this morality and eschatological judgment in these later texts than that found in the earlier ones. For example, the homilist for the CUL homily Feria tertia in letania maiore focused his listeners' attention on a few catechetical observances (confession, love, and forgiveness) and on the eschatological ideas of Doomsday, hell-punishments, and the Last Days, and wove these catechetical observances and eschatological ideas together with a warning that God will judge His people by their actions here on earth: "ac anra gehwylcum menn þær biδ gedemed æfter his agenum gewyrhtum" (27-28),[7] a sentiment that he reiterates throughout most of the remainder of his homily.

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[7] My text for this homily is Bazire and Cross' Rogationtide. Citations are by line number, and are noted in my text.

The above changes, I would argue, are indicative of a transformed purpose of the liturgical occasion of Rogationtide. We know that the purpose of the pagan-Roman Robigalian festival, according to Ovid, was to ask for protection of the crops from mildew, and that the purpose of the Latin Major and Minor Litanies was to ask God for protection from natural disasters, such as earthquakes and fires. This purpose, however, was quite different during the Anglo-Saxon period, as we can see from the changes noted above. There is a shift away from asking God for protection from the localized, specific concerns of natural disasters, to those which are more universal and eschatological, such as death and Doomsday. Tied to this motivational change is a shift in the ways in which people ask for protection. In particular, we see a greater emphasis on the importance of more penitential observances, such as fasting and confession. The observance of fasting during Rogationtide, for example, appears throughout this vernacular corpus, but it becomes more clearly associated with eschatological sanctions in the later homilies. In the CCCC 303 homily In uigilia ascensionis, the homilist depicts fasting as being a way in which to ask for protection from the miseries of the Last Days. Also, the homilist for the CCCC 302 homily Feria II in letania maiore provides a lengthy discussion of the proper ways in which to fast, figuratively associating them

with the preparation of a taper by whose light the soul can find its way to heaven. By the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, Rogationtide had become a penitential season, in which the people asked God for protection from death and Doomsday by observing specific catechetical observances.

Two of the main impetuses for the above changes, I would argue, pertain to the occasional and the historical considerations surrounding Rogationtide. During this liturgical occasion, the three days between the seasons of Lent and Ascension, the penitential Anglo-Saxon Christians could contemplate both the death of Christ, which was emphasized during Lent, and the afterlife He would soon experience upon His ascension. This penitential contemplation has its precedent in the historical observance of Rogationtide, as the early Latin writings for this occasion prescribed fasting, wearing sackcloth and ashes, and walking barefoot during this time.[8] Keeping this occasional and historical association in mind, the homilists could transform the Rogationtide motive, making it more endemic to a penitential season by emphasizing the fear of

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[8] This penitential emphasis during Rogationtide was lessened in 816, as I noted in Chapter 1, when Pope Leo III removed the observance of fasting from the Minor Litanies. Though it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to delve into the differences between papal law and regional practices, it seems that rather profound implications are indicated by the presence of fasting in the Old English Rogationtide corpus.

death and God's Judgment at Doomsday, by adding penitential observances, such as fasting, and by stylistically and originally conflating the emotional impact of the eschatological context with the instructional (albeit, generic) teachings of contemporary catechesis. The result was a corpus of vernacular homilies that not only heightened and held the audience's attention but also taught them catechetical lessons.

The importance of the Old English Rogationtide corpus, then, lies in the relationship between its literary form and its occasional and historical function. Put simply, the occasion of Rogationtide, in the context of the penitential season of Lent, of its historical precedent, and of contemporary Church practices, determined the translation methods, emotional motives, and didactic lessons that comprise the homilies written for it. Rather than presenting extended expositions on historical accounts or on particular scriptural pericopes, as found in the Latin Tradition, the Anglo-Saxon homilists created a distinctive Old English Rogationtide corpus by shaping their homilies around that particular occasion, making this group of texts an effective instrument for catechetical instruction. For this reason, I would conclude, the Church probably found Rogationtide to be an ideal time and an ideal medium in which to assist the spiritual growth and development of its

followers.

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VITA

GORDON BAILEY SELLERS studied music at Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona for two years (1969-1971) before transferring to the University of Northern Colorado, where he received his B.S. degree in Anthropology in 1973. After working as a Purchasing Director for twelve years in Chicago, he returned to school to study English literature, acquiring his B.A. from Northeastern Illinois University in 1988, his M.A. from DePaul University in 1989, and his Ph.D. from Loyola University Chicago in 1996.

While attending DePaul, he tutored undergraduates in writing and research, and helped coordinate the university's writing center as part of his graduate assistantship. He also team taught composition classes with professors from the writing program prior to independently teaching these classes during the 1989-1990 school year. He received a graduate assistantship at Loyola for the 1990-1991 school year, during which time he taught composition classes. In the subsequent summer, he taught a course in Chaucer to upper-division English literature students. The following year (1991-1992), he received a research assistantship at

Loyola, working with Professor Allen J. Frantzen to develop a hyper-text computer program to teach medieval literature to undergraduates, a class which he later taught in the spring of 1993. Further, he received a teaching fellowship for the 1992-1993 school year, teaching composition classes under the mentor program with Professor Frantzen and attending weekly seminars on teaching techniques taught by various university professors.

In addition to his academic responsibilities, Mr. Sellers has been active over the last several years in his primary area of interest, Old English literature. He has given numerous presentations at regional and international conferences, including the Medieval Association of the Midwest, the Illinois Medieval Association, and the 27th Congress on Medieval Studies. He also has delivered several papers at graduate student seminars at the University of Connecticut, Loyola University Chicago, and DePaul University.

Over the past year, Mr. Sellers has been teaching reading at East-West University in Chicago and working as a project assistant at a large law firm (McDermott, Will and Emery). He plans to submit portions of his dissertation, The Old English Rogationtide Corpus: A Literary History, for publication and to teach evening composition classes at one of the downtown Chicago community colleges.

DISSERTATION APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Gordon Bailey Sellers has been read and approved by the following committee:

Allen J. Frantzen, Ph.D., Director
Professor, English
Loyola University Chicago

Karma Lochrie, Ph.D.
Professor, English
Loyola University Chicago

Clare A. Lees, Ph.D.
Professor, English
University of Oregon

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 1, 1996
Date

Director's Signature